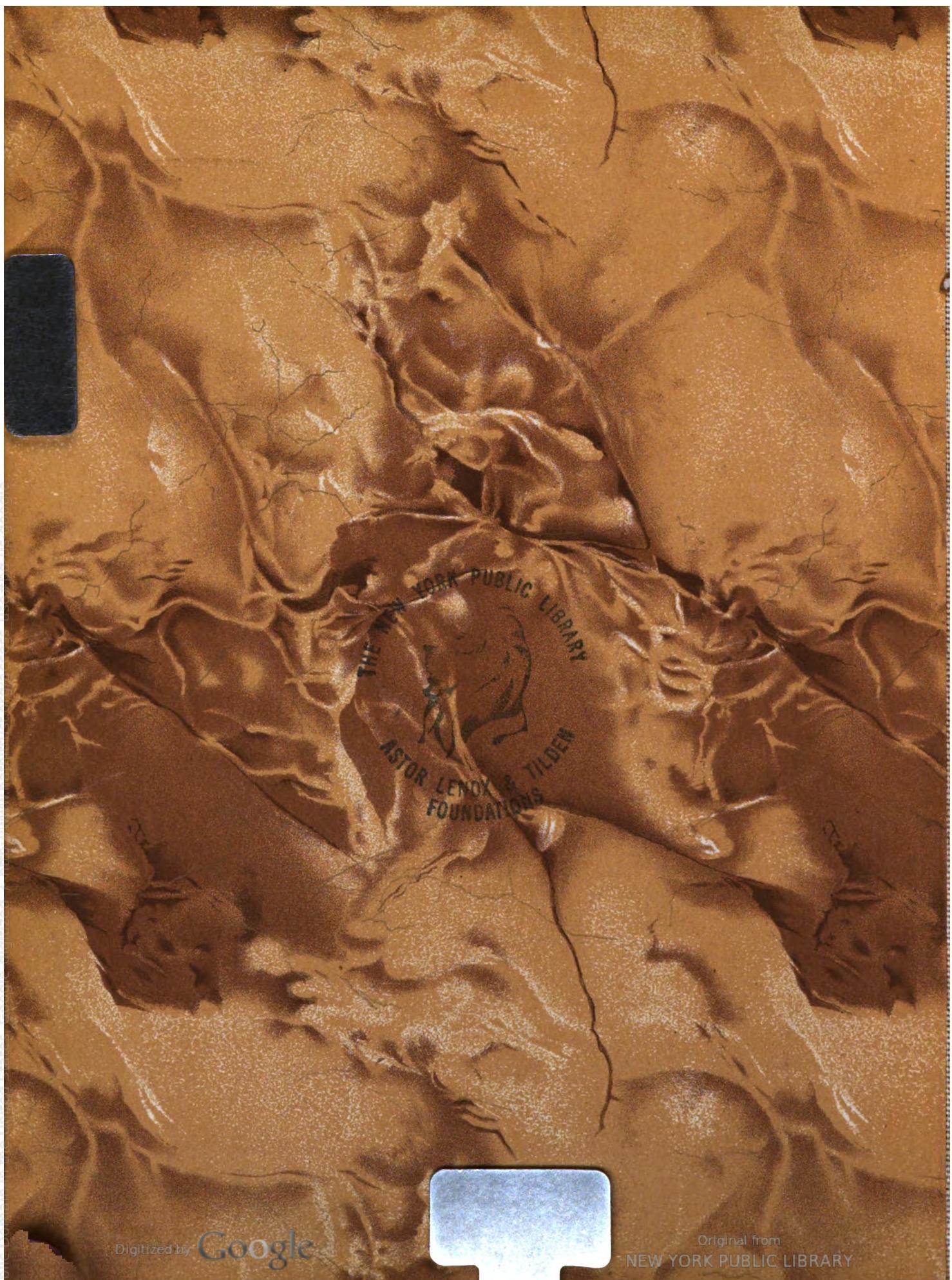


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Mackey's History of Freemasonry

BY

ROBERT INGHAM CLEGG, 33°

WITH THE CO-OPERATION OF MANY
EMINENT AUTHORITIES
INCLUDING

WILLIAM JAMES HUGHAN

PAST SENIOR GRAND DEACON, GRAND LODGE OF ENGLAND;
PAST SENIOR GRAND WARDEN, EGYPT;
PAST SENIOR GRAND WARDEN, IOWA, ETC.

*And ye shall know the truth, and the
truth shall make you free.*

The Gospel according to
SAINT JOHN, VIII: 32

*Without knowledge there can be no sure
progress.* CHARLES SUMNER

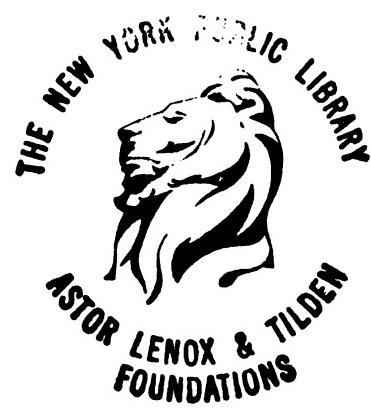


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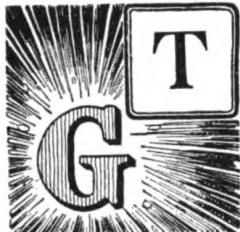
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CHAPTER SEVENTY-NINE

NO MASTER MASON'S DEGREE AMONG OPERATIVE FREEMASONS



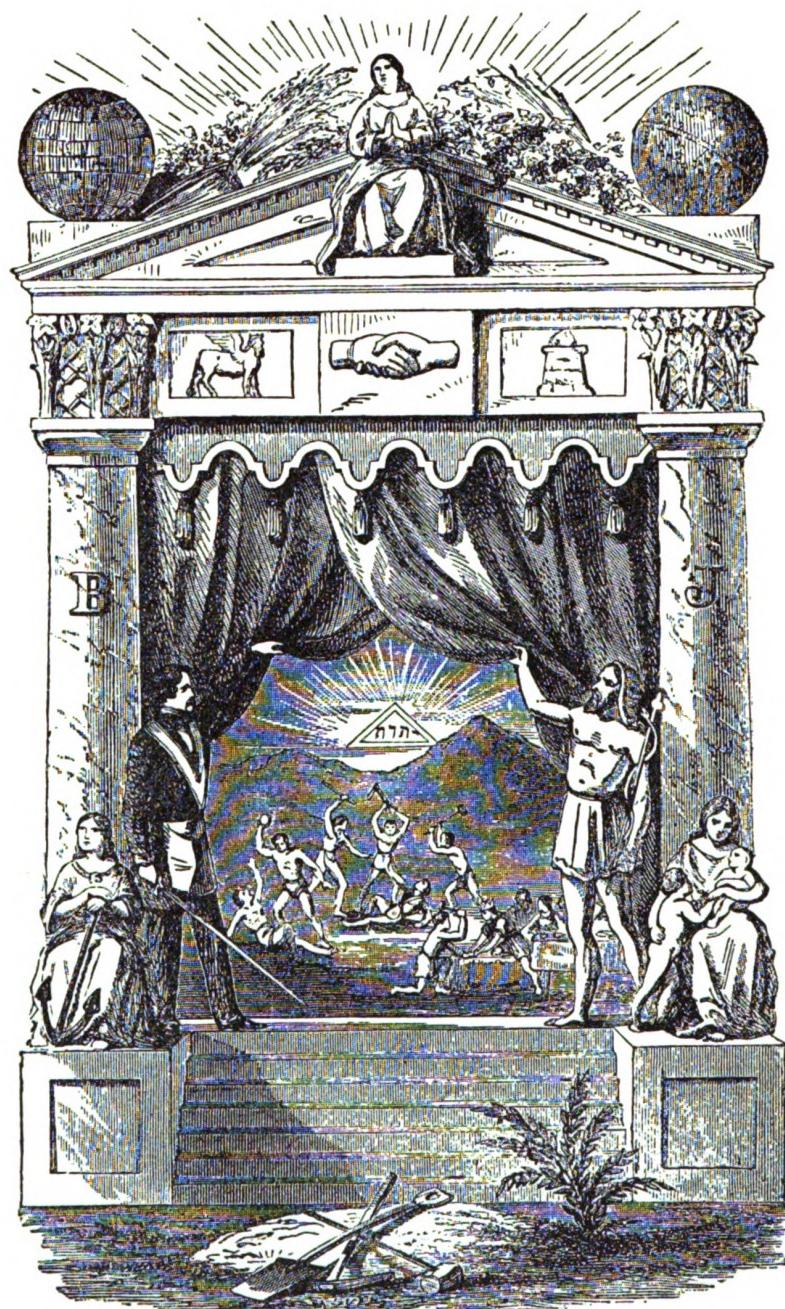
HE history of the origin of the Third or Master's degree—that is, so much of it as refers to the precise time of its invention—has, even at this day, been involved in much doubt. This knotty question has been the source of earnest disputes because of the searching investigations of more recent scholars, whose incisive criticism has shown many theories to be unsound which were once held to be probable.

The opinion was once universally accepted that the Third degree must have been in existence from the time of the invention of the Masonic system. At whatever period that event was placed, the doctrine was believed that the First, Second, and the Third degrees must have had a common origin, no one preceding the other in point of time, but all springing at once into form and practice.

That Freemasonry began at the Temple of Solomon was for a very long time a universally accepted theory, forming, in fact, the orthodox creed of a Freemason, and faithfully adopted, not merely by the unlearned masses of the Fraternity, but by Masonic scholars of distinction.

Built upon this theory was another, that at the same time the Master's degree was invented and that the builders of the Temple were divided into the same three classes known as degrees, which constitute the present system of Freemasonry.

This theory came from the esoteric narrative in the modern ritual of the Third degree. If this account is accepted as an authentic history of events which actually occurred at that time, then there need be no more difficulty in tracing the invention of the Third degree to the time of King Solomon than there can be in placing the origin of Freemasonry at the same period.



Assassination of the Master Builder

1018

Unfortunately for the peace of those who would be willing to solve a difficult problem by the Alexandrian method of cutting the Gordian knot, rather than by the slower process of analytical investigation, the theory of the Temple origin of the Masters' degree has now been cast aside by nearly all Masonic scholars. A few may be excepted who, like Bro. Woodford, still express a lingering recognition of the possibility that the legend may be true.¹

Thus Bro. Woodford, referring to the Temple legend, says: "As there is no *a priori* reason why an old Masonic tradition should not be true in the main, we see no reason to reject the world-wide story of King Solomon's protection of a Masonic association. Indeed, modern discovery seems to strengthen the reality of our Masonic legends, and we should always, as it appears to us, distinguish between what is possible and probable and what is actually provable or proved by indubitable evidence."

Bro. Mackey says in reply: "It must be remembered that of all the arguments in favor of an event, the possibility of its occurrence is the weakest. In dialectics there is an almost illimitable gulf between possibility and actuality. A hundred things may be possible or even probable, and yet not one of them may be actual. With the highest respect for the scholarship of our reverend brother, I am compelled to dissent from the views he has here expressed. Nor am I prepared to accept the statement that 'modern discovery seems to strengthen the reality of our Masonic legends.' A contrary opinion prevails, though it must be admitted that the modern interpretations of these legends have given them a value, as the expression of symbolic ideas, which does not pertain to them when accepted, as they formerly were, as truthful narratives."

The Temple legend, however, must be retained as a part of the ritual as long as the present system of Speculative Freemasonry exists. The legendary and allegorical narrative must be repeated by the Master of the Lodge on the occasion of every initiation into the mysteries of the Third degree. Though it is no longer to be accepted as historical, yet the events which it records are still recognized as a myth containing within itself, and independent of all question of probability, a symbolical meaning of the highest importance.

¹ Kenning's "Masonic Cyclopaedia," article, Temple of Solomon, p. 612.

This mythical legend of the Temple, and of the Temple Builder, must ever remain an inseparable part of the Masonic ritual. The narrative must be repeated on all appropriate occasions. Without this legend, Speculative Freemasonry would lose its identity and would abandon the very object of its original institution. On this legend, true or false, history or myth, is founded the most vital portion of the symbolism of Freemasonry.

In the lesson taught by a legendary symbol or an allegory it is a matter of no consequence to the value of the interpretation whether the legend be true or false; the interpretation alone is of importance. We need not, for instance, inquire whether the story of Hiram Abif is a narrative which is true in all its parts, or merely a historical style of myth in which truth and fiction are variously blended, or, in fact, only the pious invention of some legendmaker, to whose fertile imagination it has been indebted for all its details.

We find it is sufficient when we are occupied in an investigation of subjects connected with the science of symbolism, that the symbol which the legend is intended to develop should be one that teaches some dogma whose truth we can not doubt. The symbologist looks to the truth or fitness of the symbol, not to that of the legend on which it is founded. Thus it is that we should study the various myths and traditions which are so usefully embodied in the ritual of Freemasonry.

But let us put aside the rôle of the symbologist or ritualist, and assume that of the historian—when, for the time, we no longer interest ourselves in the lessons of Masonic symbolism, but apply our attention to the origin and the progress of the institution. Then it really becomes of importance that we should critically inquire whether the narrative of certain supposed events which have hitherto been accepted as truthful, are really historical or merely mythical or legendary.

Therefore, when the question is asked of us in a historical sense, at what time the Third degree was invented, and in the expectation that the reply will be based on authentic historical authority, we at once set aside the whole story of its existence at the Temple of Solomon as a mere myth. Of course this particular myth, it is true, has its value as a symbol, but is entitled to no consideration whatever as a historical narrative.

However, it is most unfortunate for the study of Masonic facts that so many writers on this subject, forgetting that all history must have its basis in truth, have sought rather to charm their readers by romantic episodes than to instruct them by a sober detail of events.

One instance of this kind may be cited, as an example, from the dreamy speculations of Ragon, a French writer of great learning but of still greater imagination in Freemasonry.

His *Orthodoxie Maçonnique* credits the invention of all the degrees to Elias Ashmole, near the end of the 17th century. He says that the degree of Master Mason was worked out soon after the year 1648, but that the beheading of King Charles I., and the part taken by Ashmole in favor of the House of Stuart, led to great changes in the ritual of the degree. His claim is also that the same epoch saw the birth of the degrees of Secret Master, Perfect Master, Elect, and Irish Master, of all of which he asserts Charles the First was the hero, under the name of Hiram.¹

Assertions like this are hardly worth the paper and ink that would be used in refuting them. Unlike the so called historical novel which has its basis in a twist of history, they resembled rather the Arabian Tales or the Travels of Gulliver, owing their existence solely to the imaginative genius of their authors.

Still there are some writers of more temperate judgment who reject the Temple theory but claim for the Third degree an antiquity of no certain date, yet much earlier than the time of the organization of the Grand Lodge in the beginning of the 18th century.

Thus, Bro. Hyde Clark, in an article in the London *Freemasons' Magazine*, says that "the ritual of the Third degree is peculiar and suggestive of its containing matter from the old body of Freemasonry." Therefore, he concludes that it is older than the time of the so called Revival in 1717, and he advances a theory that the First degree was in that olden time conferred on minors, while the Second and Third were limited to adults.²

This view of the origin of the degrees can only be received as a bare guess, for there is not a particle of reliable evidence to

¹ "Orthodoxie Maçonnique," par J. M. Ragon, Paris, 1853, p. 29.

² "Old Freemasonry before Grand Lodges," by Hyde Clark, in the London *Freemasons' Magazine*, No. 534.

show that it has historical foundation. No old document has been discovered to give support to the theory that there were ceremonies or esoteric instructions before the year 1719 which were conferred upon a peculiar class. All the testimony of the Old Records and manuscript Constitutions is to the effect that there was but one reception for the Craftsmen, to which all, from the youngest to the oldest Freemason, were admitted.

True, one of the Old Records, known as the Sloane manuscript No. 3329, mentions various modes of recognition, one of which was peculiar to Masters. This specimen is called in the manuscript "their Master's gripe," and another is called "their gripe for fellow crafts."

Of the many Masonic manuscripts which, within the last few years have been discovered and published, this is perhaps one of the most important and very interesting. Findel first inserted a small portion of it in his *History of Freemasonry*, but the whole of it in an unmangled form was later published by Bro. Woodford in 1872, and also by Hughan the same year in the *Voice of Masonry*. The manuscript was discovered among the papers of Sir Hans Sloane which were deposited in the British Museum, and is there numbered 3329. Bro. Hughan supposes that the date of this manuscript is between 1640 and 1700; Messrs. Bond and Sims, of the British Museum, think that the date is "probably of the beginning of the 18th century." Findel thinks that it was originally in the possession of Dr. Plot and that was one of the sources whence he derived his views on Freemasonry. He places its date at about the end of the 17th century.

Bro. Woodford cites the authority of Mr. Wallbran for fixing its date in the early part of that century, in which opinion he agrees. The paper-mark of the manuscript in the British Museum appears to prove it to have been a copy of an older one. Bro. Woodford states that though the paper-mark is of the early part of the 18th century, experts will not deny that the language is that of the 17th. He believes, and not without reason, that it represents the ceremonial through which Ashmole passed in 1646.

This is the only Old Record in which a single passage is to be found which, by the most liberal reading, can be construed even into an allusion to the existence of a Third degree with a

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separate ritual before the end of the second decade of the 18th century. Therefore, it may be well to quote such passages of the manuscript as appear to have any bearing on the question.

The methods of recognition for Fellow-Crafts and Masters is described thus in the Sloane manuscript:

"Their gripe for fellow craftes is grasping their right hands in each other, thrusting their thimb naile upon the third joynt of each others first Fing'r; their masters gripe is grasping their right hands in each other; placing their four fingers nailes hard upon the carpus or end of others wrists, and their thumb nailes thrust hard directly between the second joynt of the thumb and the third joynt of the first Finger; but some say the mast'rs grip is the same I last described, only each of their middle Fing'rs must reach an inch or three barley corns length higher to touch upon a vein y't (that) comes from the heart."

No indication is to be found in this passage to show the existence at the time of three degrees and three separate rituals. All that it tells us is that the Fellow-Crafts were provided with one form of salutation and the Masters with another. We are left in uncertainty whether these forms used by one class were unknown to the other, or whether the forms were openly used only to distinguish one class from the other, as the number of stripes on the arm exhibit the grades of non-commissioned officers in the army.

That the latter was the use would appear evident from the fact that the close of the passage leaves it uncertain that the "gripes" were not exactly the same, or at least had a very little difference. "Some say," adds the writer, "the Master's grip is the same" as the Fellow-Craft's—"only"—and then he explains to us the hardly appreciable variation.

Here is another passage which appears to show that no value was attached to the use of the grip as marking a degree, though it might be employed to distinguish a rank or class.

"Another salutation," says the manuscript, "is giving the Mast'rs or fellows grip, saying 'the right worshipful the mast'rs and fellows in that right worshipful lodge from whence we last came, greet you, greet you, greet you well,' then he will reply 'God's good greeting to you, dear brother.'"

Here we may take it that all that is meant is that the Masters saluted with the grip peculiar to their class, and the Fellows used the one peculiar to theirs. But what has become of the Apprentices? Did they salute with the grip of the Fellows or that of the Masters? If so, they must have been acquainted with one or both. In that case the claim for a secret instruction incidental to the condition of degrees and a distinct ritual must be abandoned. Of course the other view is that Apprentices were not admitted to the privileges of the Craft, and were barred from recognition as members of a Lodge.

Let the following questions and answers decide that point. They are contained in the manuscript, and there called "a private discourse by way of question and answer."

"Q. Where were you made a mason?"

"A. In a just and perfect or just and lawful lodge.

"Q. What is a perfect or just and lawful lodge?

"A. A just and perfect lodge is two Interpretices, two fellow crafts, and two Mast'rs, more or fewer, the more the merrier, the fewer the better chear, but if need require five will serve, that is, two Interpretices, two fellow craftes, and one Mast'r on the highest hill or the lowest valley of the world without the crow of a cock or the bark of a dog."

This was no Lodge of Master Masons, nor of Fellow-Crafts, nor of Entered Apprentices, as they have been known since the starting of degrees. It simply was a Lodge of Freemasons to legalize and perfect whose character it was necessary that representatives of all the classes should be present. The Apprentices forming a part of the Lodge must have been privy to all its secrets. This idea is sustained by all the Old Constitutions and "Charges" in which the Apprentices are enjoined to keep the secrets of the Lodge.

The manuscript speaks of two words, "the Mast'r Word" and "the Mason word." The latter is said to have been given in a certain form, which is described. It is possible that the former may have been communicated to Masters as a privilege attached to their rank, while the latter was imparted to the whole Craft.

We have seen that in a later ritual it has been said that there were two words, "the Jerusalem Word" and "the universal word,"

but both were known to the whole Fraternity. The Sloane manuscript does not positively state that the two words used in its ritual were like these two, or that the Master's was confined to one class. However, it is likely that this Word was a privileged mark of distinction to be used only by the Masters, though possibly known to the rest of the Fraternity. How else could it be given in the Lodge where the three classes were present?

Bro. Lyon has arrived at the same conclusion. He says: "It is our opinion that in primitive times there were no secrets communicated by Lodges to either fellows or craft or master's that were not known to apprentices, seeing that members of the latter grade were necessary to the legal constitution of communications for the admission of masters or fellows."¹ The argument, however, appears to be unanswerable.

The Word might, however, as has been suggested, have been whispered by the Master giving it to the one to whom it was communicated. If this were so, it supplies us with the origin of the modern Past Master's degree. But even then it could only be considered as a privileged mark of a rank or class of the Craftsmen and not as the evidence of a degree.

We will merely suggest, but we shall not press the argument, that it is possible that by a clerical mistake, or through some confusion in the mind of the writer, "Mast'r Word" may have been written for "Mason Word." This expression has been made familiar to us in the minutes of the Scottish Lodges, and is the only word the secrecy of which is required by the oath that is contained in the manuscript. On the other hand, "Master Word" is a phrase not met with in any earlier manuscript, Scotch or English.

The "Oath," which forms a part of the Sloane manuscript, supplies itself the strongest proof that, during the period in which it formed a part of the ritual, that ritual must have been one common to the three classes. In other words, there could have been but one degree, because there was but one obligation of secrecy imposed, and the secrets, whatever they were, must have been known to all Freemasons, to the Apprentices as well as to the Master. The "Oath" is in the following words:

¹ "History of the Lodge of Edinburgh," p. 23.

"The Mason Word and everything therein contained you shall keep secret, you shall never put it in writing directly or indirectly; you shall keep all that we or your attenders shall bid you keep secret from man, woman or child, stock or stone, and never reveal it but to a brother or in a Lodge of Freemasons, and truly observe the charges in the Constitution; all this you promise and swear faithfully to keep and observe, without any manner of equivocation or mental reservation, directly or indirectly; so help you God and the contents of this Book."

The "Mason Word," with the secrets connected with it, formed a very prominent part of the ritual of the Scotch Freemasons. Nevertheless, there is no reference to it in any of the early English manuscripts except in the Sloane.

In fact, so important was this word considered in Scotland as to be sometimes figuratively employed to mean the whole body of the Fraternity. Thus, in a record of the Musselburgh Lodge, in December, 1700, where complaint is made of the great disorders into which the Lodge had fallen, it is said, among other evils, that the practice of Fellow-Crafts encouraging Apprentices to take work as journeymen, "at last, by degrees, will bring all law and order and consequently the Mason Word to contempt."¹ Evidently by a figure of speech it is meant here that the Fraternity or Craft of Freemasonry will be brought to contempt by such practices.

The Lodge of Edinburgh was the principal Lodge of Scotland, and its records have been best preserved. In that Lodge the Freemasons or employers were, up to the beginning of the 18th century, the controlling power. They seldom called the Fellows or Craftsmen of an inferior class, who were only journeymen, into their councils.

The dispute between the Masters and journeymen, which led, in 1712, to the establishment of a new Lodge, are faithfully described by Bro. Lyon from the original records.² Sufficient is it here to say that one of the principal grievances complained of by the latter was in respect to the giving of the Mason Word, with the secrets connected with it and the fees arising from it.

¹ "History of the Lodge of Edinburgh," p. 175.

² "History of the Lodge of Edinburgh," p. 140.

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The Masters claimed the right to confer it and to dispose of the fee, so to speak, of initiation.

Finally, the controversy was partially closed by arbitration. The "Decreet-Arbitral," as is the Scottish legal phrase, or award of the arbitrators made on January 17, 1715, has been recorded, and has been published by Bro. Lyon. The only point of importance for us regarding the present subject is that the arbitrators decreed that the journeymen Freemasons, that is, the Fellow-Crafts, should be allowed "to meet together by themselves, as a Society for giving the Mason Word and to receive dues therefor."

From this fact it is clearly evident that the knowledge of the "Mason Word" and the secrets pertaining to it formed no part of a degree exclusively confined to the Masters, but that all esoteric knowledge in connection with this subject was also the property of the Fellow-Crafts, and of the Apprentices, too, because it has been shown that they were required to be present at all Lodge meetings.

The expression, "Mason Word," which is common in the Scottish Lodge records, has been, so far, found only in this English manuscript, the Sloane, No. 3329. But as the theory is now generally accepted as having been proved, that the Scottish Freemasons derived their secrets from their English brethren, there can hardly be a doubt that the regulations relative to this Word must at one time certainly have been nearly the same in both countries.

That this was the case after the organization of the Grand Lodge of England, there can be no doubt. This seems proved by the visit of Dr. Desaguliers to Edinburgh in 1721, and the conditions prevailed long before. Bro. Lyon was aware of that visit. He also, from other considerations, expressed the opinion "that the system of Masonic degrees which for nearly a century and a half has been known in Scotland as Freemasonry, was an importation from England."¹

What this "Mason Word" was, either in England or Scotland, we have, at this day, no perfect means of knowing. But we do know from the records of the 17th century, which have been preserved, that it was the most important, and in Scot-

¹ "History of the Lodge of Edinburgh," p. 153.

land perhaps the only secret that was communicated to the Craft.

"The Word," says Bro. Lyon, "is the only secret that is even alluded to in the minutes of Mary's Chapel, or in those of Kil-winning, Atcheson's Haven, or Dunblane, or any other that we have examined of a date prior to the erection of the Grand Lodge."¹

We know also that in England, in Scotland, and in Germany, the giving of the Word was accompanied by a grip and by the imparting of other secrets.

But we know also, positively, that this Word and these secrets were bestowed upon Fellows as well as Masters, and also, as we have every reason to infer, upon Apprentices.

Besides the proofs that we draw from old Masonic records, we have a right to draw our inferences from the practice of similar customs among other crafts.

Thus, the carpenters, wrights, joiners, slaters, and other crafts who were connected in the art of building with the Freemasons, were called in Scotland "Squaremen." They had a secret word which was called the "Squaremen Word." This word, with a grip and sign, was communicated to both journeymen and apprentices in a ceremony called the "brithering."

A portion of this ceremony which was performed in a closely guarded apartment of a public-house was the investiture with a leather apron.² We can not doubt that the communication of the "Mason Word and the secrets pertaining to it" was accompanied by similar ceremonies in Scotland, and by the same reasoning a like result is assumed also in England.

The conclusion to which we must arrive from the proofs which have been submitted is that as there was no such system as that of our present degrees known to the mediæval Operative Freemasons, that no such system was practiced by the Speculative Freemasons who in 1717 instituted the Grand Lodge of England, until at least two years after its organization; that in 1719 the two degrees of Entered Apprentice and Fellow-Craft were invented; and that later the modern system of symbolic or ancient Craft degrees was perfected by the making of a

¹ "History of the Lodge of Edinburgh," p. 22.

² Lyon's "History of the Lodge of Edinburgh," p. 23.

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new degree, now recognized as the Third or Master Mason's degree.

At what precise time and under what circumstances this Third degree was invented and introduced into the Grand Lodge system of modern Freemasonry, is the next subject that must engage our attention.

CHAPTER EIGHTY

THE GROWTH OF THE THIRD OR MASTER MASON'S DEGREE



E have seen that for many years and perhaps up to 1719 the Masonic ritualistic system consisted of but a simple ceremony or degree, which was common to the whole, and the secrets of which were communicated to the Apprentice at his initiation, or as it was more properly called, in reference to the limited ceremonies, his admission. Probably at that time Desaguliers and his coworkers developed a Second degree, to be given to the Fellow-Crafts. To do this it was necessary, or at least deemed expedient, to divide the primitive degree and out of it to make two, those of Entered Apprentice and Fellow-Craft. For a time the Masonic system consisted of two degrees, and the apex was the Fellow-Craft degree.¹

From this time the Fellow-Crafts began to take a prominent place in the business of Freemasonry, and the Apprentice lost some of the importance he had obtained in early times as a part

¹ Bro. Morris Rosenbaum in a discussion of "The Craft before the Establishment of the First Grand Lodge of 1717," before the Installed Masters Association, Leeds, England, see "Transactions," 1912-1913, vol. ix, points out that the development of the three-degree system was slow, gradual and unofficial. He tabulates his conclusions somewhat thus, as to the arrangement of the degrees at various periods, and he believes that all we have now existed before 1717 if not exactly in the same form:

- i. Operative (Before Grand Lodge era) —
 - a. Apprentice Degree (Included present First and Second).
 - b. Fellow Degree (Included present Third).
- ii. Speculative (Before Grand Lodge era) —
 - a. Fellow Degree (Included present First, Second and Third).
- iii. Grand Lodge Era (Before 1724 or 1725, Operative) —
 - a. Apprentice Degree (Included present First and Second).
 - b. Fellow Degree (Included present Third).
- iv. Grand Lodge Era (After 1724 or 1725 and not universally adopted until later) —
 - a. Apprentice Degree (Present First).
 - b. Fellow Degree (Present Second).
 - c. Master Mason Degree (Present Third, which formerly had been the Second or highest degree).

of the Craft and having an equal share with Masters and Fellows in its secrets. He was permitted, it is true, to be present at the meetings of the Lodge, and to take part in its business (except, of course, where candidates were to be "passed"), and even to vote in the Grand Lodge on the question of an alteration of the "General Regulations," but the offices were to be held and the Lodge represented in the Grand Lodge by Fellow-Crafts only. Of this there is abundant evidence in documents of the period.

The first edition of Anderson's *Constitutions* contains "the Charges of a Freemason, extracted from the Records of Lodges beyond Sea." The exact date when these "Charges" were compiled is not known. It must have been after 1718, for they distinctly refer to the Fellow-Craft degree, and it must have been before the beginning of 1723, the year of their publication. However, it is certain from their phraseology that when they were compiled for the use of the lodges, the Fellow-Craft degree had been instituted, but the Master's degree was not yet known. For this reason we are inclined to place the date between 1718, in which year Anderson tells us that "several old copies of the Gothic Constitutions were produced and collated," and 1721, when he submitted his manuscript, including the "Charges" and "Regulations" to the Grand Lodge. There is no date prefixed to the "Charges," but probably they were prepared by Payne in 1720, at the time he compiled the "General Regulations." Certainly they must have been in existence on December 27, 1721, when a committee was appointed by the Grand Lodge to examine them and the Constitutions. This date sufficiently accounts for the fact that there are no allusions in them to the Master's degree.

These "Charges," therefore, give us a very good idea of the status of Apprentices and Fellow-Crafts in English Freemasonry at the time when the system consisted of two degrees, and the present "part of Master" had not yet been shaped.

Charge IV. says that if the Apprentice has learned his art, he may in due time be made a Fellow-Craft, and if otherwise qualified may become a Warden and successively Master of his Lodge, the Grand Warden, and at length the Grand Master.

Here we see that at that time the Fellow-Craft was at the summit of the Fraternity so far as degrees and qualifications for

promotion were concerned. Nothing is said of the degree of Master; it was still as in primitive times — a gradation of rank.

The same Charge tells us that "no Brother can be a Warden until he has passed the part of a Fellow-Craft, nor a Master¹ until he has acted as a Warden; nor Grand Warden until he has been Master of a Lodge; nor Grand Master unless he has been a Fellow-Craft before his election."

Evidently at this time there could be no degree higher than that of the Fellow-Craft. If there had been, that higher degree would have been made the necessary qualification for these high offices. We are not without the proof of how these "Charges" would have been made to read had the degree of Master Mason been in existence at the time of their compilation.

Notwithstanding that Speculative Freemasonry owes much to Dr. Anderson, we must reluctantly admit that, as a historian, he was inaccurate, and that while he often substituted the inventions of tradition for the facts of history, he also construed old documents to suit his own views.

In 1738 he published a second edition of the *Book of Constitutions*, a work at first perhaps carelessly approved, but later condemned by the Grand Lodge. This work contained the "Charges." Now the Master's degree had been long practiced by the Lodges as the climax of the ritual.

Let us see how these "Charges" were modified by Dr. Anderson in this second edition, to meet the altered condition of the Masonic system. The Apprentice is no longer told, as he was in the first edition, that his ambition should be to become a Fellow Craft and in time a Warden, a Master of a Lodge, a Grand Warden, and even a Grand Master. The copy of 1738 says that "when of age and expert he may become an Entered Prentice, or a Free-Mason of the lowest degree, and upon his due improvement a Fellow-Craft and a Master Mason."

Again, in the "Charges" of 1720,² it is said that "no brother can be a Warden until he has passed the part of a Fellow Craft."

In the "Charges" of 1738, it is said that "the Wardens are chosen from among the Master Masons."

¹ That is, Master of a Lodge, as the other information shows.

² We assume this date for convenience of reference, and because, as already shown, it is probably correct.

In Charge V. of 1720 it is directed that "the most expert of the Fellow-Crafts shall be chosen or appointed the Master or Overseer of the Lord's Work."

In the same "Charge," published in 1738, it is prescribed that "a Master Mason only must be the Surveyor or Master of Work."

What else can be inferred, except that in 1720 the Fellow-Craft was the highest degree, and that after then and long before 1738 the Master's degree had developed?

But let us try to get a little nearer to the exact date of the building of the present Third degree into the Masonic system.

The *Constitutions of the Free-Masons*, commonly called the *Book of Constitutions*, was ordered by the Grand Lodge, on March 25, 1722, to be printed,¹ and was that year, for it was presented by Dr. Anderson to the Grand Lodge "in print" on January 17, 1723. Although the work bears on its title-page the imprint of 1723, it must really be considered as controlled in its composition by the condition of things that existed in 1722.

The body of this book has no reference to the degree of Master Mason. True, on page 33 the author speaks of "such as were admitted Master Masons or Masters of the Work," evidently meaning not those who had received a higher degree, but those who the "Charges" of that book said were to be "chosen or appointed the Master or Overseer of the Lord's Work," and who the same "Charge" declares should be "the most expert of the Fellow-Craftsmen."

On the contrary, when speaking of the laws, forms, and usages practiced in the early Lodges by the Saxon and Scottish kings, he says: "Neither what was conveyed nor the manner how, can be communicated by writing; as no man can indeed understand it without the key of a Fellow-Craft."²

Thus, in 1722, when this note was written, there was no higher degree than that of Fellow-Craft, because the Fellow-Crafts were, as being at the summit of the ritual, in possession of the key to all the oral and esoteric instructions of the brotherhood. They may have possessed more than the present Fellow-Craft secrets.

¹ Its preparation by Dr. Anderson had been previously directed on September 29, 1721. This and the date of its publication in January, 1723, lead us irresistibly to the conclusion that the work was written in 1722.

² Anderson's "Constitutions," 1st edition, p. 29, note.

Guided by the spirit of the "General Regulations," printed in the first edition of Anderson's *Constitutions*, we place the development of the Third degree at 1722, although, as will be hereafter seen, it did not get into general use until later. The investigations which lead to this conviction were pursued in the following order. In pursuing this train of argument, it will be necessary to repeat some things. But the subject is so important that a needful repetition will be excusable for the sake of clearness in the reasoning.

The "General Regulations" were published in the first edition of the *Book of Constitutions*, edited by Anderson. This edition bears the imprint of 1723, but Anderson himself tells us that the work was "in print" and produced before the Grand Lodge on the 17th of January in that year. Obviously, although published in 1723, it was actually printed in 1722. Whatever, therefore, is contained in the body of that work must refer to the condition of things that year, unless Anderson may (as we shall endeavor to show he did) have made some slight alteration, toward the end of 1722 or the beginning of 1723, while the book was passing through the press.

We have shown by the "Old Charges," whose assumed date is 1720, that at that time the degree of Fellow-Craft was the highest known in Speculative Freemasonry. We shall now attempt to prove from the "General Regulations" that the same condition existed in 1722, when those "Regulations" were printed.

The "General Regulations" consist of thirty-nine articles. Throughout the whole composition, except in one instance, which seems a later addition, there is not one word said of Master Masons. The only words used are Brethren and Fellow-Crafts — Brethren being a generic term including both Fellows and Apprentices.

Thus it is said (Article vi.), that "no man can be entered a Brother in any particular Lodge or admitted to be a Member thereof without the unanimous consent of all the members." That is, no man can be made an Entered Apprentice, nor having been made elsewhere, be affiliated in that particular Lodge.

Again (Article vii.), "every new Brother, at his making, is decently to cloath the Lodge." That is, every Apprentice at his making, etc. The word "Brother," although a generic term, has

in these instances a special meaning determined by the rest of the sentence. The making of a Brother was the entering of an Apprentice, a term we still use when speaking of the making of a Freemason. The Fellow-Craft was admitted, as Ashmole says in his Diary, "admitted into the Fellowship of Freemasons."

Lyon,¹ referring to words employed in the Scottish Lodges "of the olden time," says, that "made" and "accepted" were frequently used as indicating the admission of Fellow-Crafts, but he adds that the former sometimes, though rarely, denoted the entry of Apprentices. He states, however, that toward the end of the 17th century these words gave way to "passed," meaning the reception of a Fellow-Craft, and that the Lodge of Mary's Chapel, at about that time, used the word "accepted" as equivalent to the "making" or "passing" of a Fellow-Craft.

The Schaw Statutes of 1598, among the oldest of Scottish records, employ "entered" in reference to making an Apprentice, and received or "admitted" in regard to making a Fellow-Craft.

However, in the English Lodges, or at least in the "General Regulations" of 1720, "making a Brother" probably meant, as it does now, the initiation of an Entered Apprentice, and that Fellow-Crafts were "admitted." The word "passed" soon afterwards came into use.

With this explanation of certain technical terms, let us examine from the document itself what was the status of Fellow-Crafts at the time of the compilation of the "General Regulations" by Grand Master Payne, in 1720, and their adoption in 1722 by the Grand Lodge. From this investigation Bro. Mackey concluded that at that period there were in Freemasonry only two degrees, those of Entered Apprentice and Fellow-Craft.

We will all admit that in a secret society no one has such opportunities of undetected "eavesdropping" as the doorkeeper. Therefore, the modern ritual of Freemasonry requires that the Tiler shall possess the highest degree worked by the body he tiles.

Now the 13th General Regulation requires that a Brother "who must be a Fellow-Craft should be appointed to look after the door of the Grand Lodge."

¹ "History of the Lodge of Edinburgh," p. 76.

But it may be argued that the Grand Lodge always met and worked in the Entered Apprentice degree, and that Apprentices as well as Fellow-Crafts were present at its communications.

Well, why was not the office of Tiler entrusted to an Entered Apprentice? Because, if there were three degrees at the time, it would have been manifestly improper to have bestowed this responsible office on one who was in possession of only the lowest. If it was prudent and proper that it should have been bestowed on one of the highest degree, why was it not given to a Master Mason? Simply because there were no Master Masons, as a degree class, from whom the selection could be made. As the laws of every Lodge require today that the Tiler must be a Master Mason, because the Third degree is the highest one known to or practiced in the Lodge, so the laws of the Grand Lodge in 1723, or the "General Regulations," required the Tiler to be a Fellow-Craft because the Second degree was the highest one then known to or practiced in the Grand Lodge. It would hardly need an argument to prove that if the present Third degree had been in practical existence when these "Regulations" were approved by the Grand Lodge, they would have directed that the doorkeeper should possess that degree.

Another clause in this 13th Regulation is quite significant. The Treasurer and Secretary of the Grand Lodge are each permitted to have a clerk, and he "must be a Brother and Fellow-Craft." Again, and for a similar reason, the officer is selected from the highest degree. Had our Third degree been known, these assistants would surely have been chosen from Master Masons; otherwise, they could be sometimes entrusted with the transactions of a degree to which they had no lawful key.

The 14th Regulation provides that in the absence of the Grand Wardens the Grand Master may order private Wardens, of a subordinate Lodge, to act as Grand Wardens for the time, and then, that the representation of that Lodge in the Grand Lodge may be preserved, the Lodge is to replace them, not by Master Masons, but "by two Fellow-Crafts of the same Lodge, called forth to act or sent thither by the particular Master thereof."

The fact that the second was the highest degree known in the early part of 1723 is confirmed by the formula in the first edition

of the *Book of Constitutions*, and there entitled "the Manner of Constituting a New Lodge, as practiced by his Grace the Duke of Wharton, the present Right Worshipful Grand Master, according to the ancient usages of Masons." According to Anderson's record in the second edition, it was presented to the Grand Lodge and approved on January 17, 1723. It is, therefore, fair testimony to the condition of the degree question at that date.

This formula says that "the new Master and Wardens being yet among the Fellow-Craft" the Grand Master shall ask his Deputy if he has examined them and finds the Candidate well skilled, etc. Answer being made in the affirmative, he is duly installed, after which the new Master, "calling forth two Fellow-Craft, presents them to the Grand Master for his approbation," after which they are installed as Wardens of the Lodge.¹

The above practice is conclusive evidence that the degree of Fellow-Craft was then the highest known or used. In January, 1723, it did not require a Freemason to be more than a Fellow-Craft to prove himself, as Wharton's form of Constitution has it, "well skilled in the noble science and the Royal Art, and duly instructed in our mysteries, and competent to preside as Master over a Lodge."

The 25th of these "General Regulations" directs that a committee shall be formed at the time of the Grand Feast, to examine every person bringing a ticket, "to discourse him, if they think fit, in order to admit or debar him as they shall see cause." It was, in fact, an examining committee, to inquire about the qualifications of applicants for admission to the annual meeting of the Grand Lodge. The members of such a committee must necessarily have possessed the highest degree practiced by the Grand Lodge. Certainly a Fellow-Craft was not competent to examine the attainments of a Master Mason. Yet the Regulation requires to form such a committee "the Masters of lodges shall each appoint one experienced and discreet Fellow-Craft of his Lodge."

Not only were Fellow-Crafts in 1723 appointed to the responsibilities of Tilers, Wardens, and Committees of Examination, but they could fill the next to the highest office in the Craft. The 17th Regulation says that "if the Deputy Grand Master be

¹ Anderson's "Constitutions," edition of 1723, pp. 71, 72.

sick, or necessarily absent, the Grand Master may chuse any Fellow-Craft he pleases to be his Deputy *pro tempore.*"

This is as conclusive proof as logical deduction can produce, that at the beginning of 1723, the date of the publication of these "Regulations" for the government of the Grand Lodge, the degree of Fellow-Craft was the highest practiced by the Grand Lodge, and that our degree of Master Mason was not then recognized in the system of Speculative Freemasonry. A Fellow-Craft presiding over Master Masons would indeed be a Masonic puzzle requiring something more than a blind reverence for the claims of antiquity to extort belief.

The extracts made seem to leave no doubt. The whole spirit and tenor of these "General Regulations," as well as the "Form of Constituting a New Lodge," which is so closely united to them, go to prove that at the time they were approved by the Grand Lodge, on January 17, 1723, there were but two degrees recognized in Speculative Freemasonry, namely, Entered Apprentice and Fellow-Craft; and that at that time the present degree of Master Mason was not a separate ceremony.

That Anderson so understood these passages, and knew the deduction to be made from them, is evident from the fact that when he next published these "General Regulations," in the second edition of the *Book of Constitutions*, 1738, when there is no doubt of the existence of the Master's degree, he almost invariably changed the words "Fellow-Craft" to "Master Mason."

Accordingly, we find that in 1738 the Wardens, the Tiler, and the Assistant Treasurer and Secretary were required to be Master Masons. The change had taken place. A distinct Third degree had been adopted between the years 1723 and 1738.

Those who deny this theory and contend that our Third degree is of greater antiquity, and was known and practiced long before the beginning of the 18th century, have at least one opportunity. They can quote the 13th Regulation, which says:

"Apprentices must be admitted Masters and Fellow-Craft only here (in the Grand Lodge) unless by a dispensation."

If this passage be a genuine part of the original "General Regulations," compiled in 1720 by Grand Master Payne and approved in 1723 by the Grand Lodge, the question would be decided and we could no longer doubt that the Third degree

existed not only in 1723, but three years earlier, that is, in 1720.

We consider it probable that this passage is an insertion by Anderson and Desaguliers, made for a certain purpose, and Bro. Mackey held that this assertion is capable of critical proof.

There are two methods of determining whether a suspected passage in an ancient work or an old document is genuine or spurious.

The first method is by comparison with other editions or manuscripts. If, in the examination of an ancient manuscript, a certain passage is found which is not met with in any other manuscripts of earlier or current date, it is deduced from this collation that the passage is an addition by the writer of that particular manuscript. If it were genuine and a part of the original writing it would have been found in all the older manuscripts, from one of which it must have been copied.

By this method of reasoning eminent biblical critics have concluded that the celebrated passage in the First Epistle General of St. John (v. 7) is an interpolation. Since it is not found in earlier Greek manuscripts of the Epistle, it must, they argue, have been inserted, perhaps from a marginal comment, carelessly or designedly, by a later copyist whose error was followed by succeeding scribes. This is criticism from external evidence.

But there are other instances in which it is not possible to compare the book or manuscript which contains the suspected passage with others of an earlier date. Where there exists but one copy there can, of course, be no comparison. In such cases it becomes necessary to determine whether the passage be genuine or spurious by what the critics call the method by internal evidence.

Suppose the suspected passage is found to contain the expression of opinions which, we are led to believe from the known character of the author, he could not have uttered. Let us assume that the statements which it sets forth are plainly in conflict with other statements made in the same work; or it be found in a part of the work where it does not harmonize with the preceding and following portions of the context. In short, if the whole spirit and tenor of the other writings of the same author are in unmistakable opposition to the spirit and tenor of the passage under review; and, above all, if a reasonable motive can be suggested which may

have given occasion to the interpolation, then the critic, guided by all or most of these reasons, will not hesitate to declare that the suspected passage is spurious. He will conclude that it formed no part of the original book or manuscript, and that it is an addition made later than the original composition. This is criticism from internal evidence.

Thus critics have asserted that a certain passage in the *Antiquities* of Flavius Josephus, in which he praises Jesus, could not have been written by the Jewish historian. Not only does its insertion awkwardly interrupt the narrative, but the sentiments of the passage do not accord with the character of Josephus. As a Pharisee, at least professedly, he was influenced by all the prejudices of his faith and his nation against Christianity and its founder. Such a man never could have vouched, as the writer of this passage does, for the Messiahship, the miraculous powers, and the resurrection of Jesus.

Hence it is now believed by many scholars, Ernest Renan being a curious exception, that the passage was interpolated as a "pious fraud" by some early writer anxious to enlist the authority of Josephus.

We will apply these principles to the only passage in the "General Regulations" which furnishes any evidence of the existence of the Third degree at the time when they were compiled.

The copy of the "General Regulations" in Anderson's *Constitutions* of 1723 is the first edition. The original manuscript copy is lost. There were no previously printed copies. Thus it is impossible by comparison to prove from external evidence that the passage referring to the Third degree is spurious.

We must then have recourse to the second method of critical investigation, that is, by internal evidence. Submitted to this test, the suspected passage fails to maintain a claim to genuineness.

Although the first edition of the *Constitutions* is now readily accessible through its numerous reprints, still, for the sake of convenience to the reader, we shall copy the whole of the paragraph containing the suspected passage, marking that passage by italics. The passage is in the first paragraph of Article xiii. of the "General Regulations," as follows:

"At the said Quarterly Communications, all Matters that concern the Fraternity in general, or particular Lodges or single

Brothers, are quietly, sedately, and maturely to be discours'd of and transacted: *Apprentices must be admitted Masters and Fellow-Craft only here unless by a Dispensation.* Here also all Differences that can not be made up and accommodated privately, nor by a particular Lodge, are to be seriously considered and decided; And if any Brother thinks himself aggrieved by the decision of this Board, he may appeal to the annual Grand Lodge next coming, and leave his Appeal in Writing, with the Grand Master or his Deputy, or the Grand Wardens."

Anyone not prepossessed with the theory of the antiquity of the Third degree who will look at this paragraph will be struck with the suspicious unfitness of the clause in italics in relation to the parts that precede and follow it. Let us examine that point.

The 13th Article of the "General Regulations" is divided into eight paragraphs. Each of these is complete in respect to its subject-matter. Each is devoted to the consideration of one subject only, to the exclusion of all others.

Thus the first paragraph relates to matters that concern Lodges and private brethren, such as differences that can not be settled otherwise than by the Grand Lodge. The second paragraph relates to the returns of Lodges and the manner of making them. The third relates to the charity fund and the most effectual method of collecting and disposing of money for that purpose. The fourth to the appointment of a Treasurer and a Secretary for the Grand Lodge, and to their duties. The fifth to the appointment of a clerk for each of those officers. The sixth to the mode of inspecting their books and accounts. The seventh to the appointment of a Tiler to look after the door of the Grand Lodge. The eighth provides for the making of a new regulation for the government of these officers whenever it may be deemed expedient.

Thus it will be seen, from this synopsis, that each of these paragraphs embraces but one subject. Whatever is begun to be treated at the opening of a paragraph is continued to its close without interruption and without the admission of any other matter.

This methodical arrangement has in fact been preserved throughout the whole of the thirty-nine "Regulations." No Regulation will be found which embodies the consideration of two different and unrelated subjects.

So uniformly is this rule observed that it may properly be called a peculiar characteristic of the style of the writer. Evidently a deviation from it becomes, according to the axioms of criticism, at once suspicious.

Such a deviation occurs only in the first paragraph of the 13th Article, the one which has been printed above.

That paragraph, as originally written, related to the disputes and difference which might arise between particular Lodges and between individual brethren, and provided the mode in which they should be settled when they could not "be made up and accommodated privately." Leaving out the lines which we have printed in italics, the reader will find that the paragraph is divided into three clauses, each separated from the other by a colon.

The first clause directs that all matters that concern the Fraternity in general, particular Lodges or single brethren, "are quietly, sedately, and maturely to be discoursed of and transacted" in the Grand Lodge. It is to questions that might arise between Lodges and brethren — questions which in modern language are called grievances — that the clause evidently refers. In the Grand Lodge only are such questions to be discussed, because it is only there that they can be definitely settled.

The second clause continues the same subject, and extends it to those differences of brethren which can not be accommodated privately by the Lodges of which they are members.

The third clause provides that if the decision made by the Grand Lodge at its Quarterly Communication is not satisfactory to the parties interested, it may be carried up, by appeal, to the Grand Lodge in its Annual Communication.

Now, it is evident that this whole paragraph is intended to explain the duties of the Quarterly Communication as a Board of Inquiry in respect to matters in dispute between Lodges and between members of the Craft. The paragraph itself calls the decision of the Grand Lodge on these occasions the "Decision of this Board."

Viewed in this way, this first paragraph of the 13th Article is harmonious in all its parts, refers to but one subject, and is a perfect specimen of the style adopted by the compiler and pursued by him in all the other portions of the "Regulations" without a

single exception—a manner plain, simple, and methodical, yet as marked and isolated from other styles as is the Doric roughness of Carlyle or the diffusiveness of De Quincey from the mode of composition by other authors in a more elevated class of literature.

But if we insert the passage printed in italics between the first and second clauses, we will at once see the rupture and discord which is introduced by the interpolation.

Placed as it is between the first and second clauses, it breaks the continuity of the subject. A regulation which refers to the differences and disputes among the Craft, and the mode of settling them, is disjointed and interrupted by another one relating to an entirely different subject—namely, the initiation of Master Masons and Fellow-Crafts.

What has the subject of initiation to do with that of fraternal or Lodge disputes? Why should a regulation relating to degrees be mixed up with another of a totally distinct and different character?

Judging, as we are not only authorized but compelled as critical observers to do, from the style of the compiler of the "Regulations" and the uniform custom pursued by him, we feel certain that if this passage formed a genuine part of the "Regulations," he would have placed it in an independent paragraph. That this has not been done affords a strong presumption that the passage is an interpolation, and that it formed no part of the "Regulations" when compiled about the year 1720, most probably by Grand Master Payne, at the same time that he compiled the "Charges" printed in the same volume.

Still more suspicious is the fact that except in this passage there is not in the "General Regulations" the slightest allusion to Master Masons or to the Master's degree. As has already been shown, the whole spirit and tenor of the "Regulations" is to the effect that the highest grade in Freemasonry at that time, and the one from which all officers were to be selected, was that of Fellow Craft. It is impossible to believe that if, at the time of the preparation of the "Regulations" and their approval by the Grand Lodge, the degree of Master Mason was in existence, it would have been passed over in such complete silence, and all important matters referred to a subordinate degree.

Therefore we again deduce the conclusion that at the time of the compiling of these "Regulations" and their approval by the Grand Lodge, the Third degree as we now possess it was not in existence as a part of Speculative Freemasonry.

We then assume as a logical deduction from these premises or foundation that the clause in the first paragraph of the 13th "General Regulation" is an interpolation inserted in those "Regulations" between the time of their being approved and the time of their final passage through the press.

Of course it is barely possible that the suspected clause may have been inserted in the copy presented to the Grand Lodge on March 25, 1722, for examination and approval, and have escaped the attention of the reviewers from the fact that it was obscurely placed in the center of a paragraph relating to a different subject. Again, the Committee may have concurred with Desaguliers and Anderson in the policy of anticipating the control of the degree when it should be presented to the Craft, by an *ante factum* regulation.

Be that as it may, the passage formed neither then nor at any time thereafter a genuine part of the "General Regulations," although from its appearance in the printed copies it was as a mere matter of course accepted as a part of the law. It was, however, soon afterward repealed and a regulation was adopted on November 22, 1725, which remitted to the Master and Wardens, with a competent number in attendance of the Lodge, the power of making Masters and Fellows at discretion.

The questions next arise, by whom, at what time, and for what purpose was this interpolation inserted?

By whom? Probably by Anderson at the suggestion of Desaguliers, under whose direction and with whose assistance the former compiled the first edition of the *Book of Constitutions*.¹

At what time? This question is more difficult to answer than the preceding one. At the communication of the Grand Lodge, September 29, 1721, Anderson was ordered to prepare the *Book of Constitutions*. December 27, 1721, the manuscript was presented to the Grand Lodge and referred to a Committee. March 25, 1722, the Committee reported and the work was ordered to

¹ This edition is dedicated to the Duke of Montague, not by Anderson, but by Desaguliers, with an air of patronage to the author, as if it were a work accomplished by his direction.

be printed. January 17, 1723, Anderson produced the new *Book of Constitutions*, which was again approved, "with the addition of the Ancient manner of Constituting a Lodge."

Between September, 1721, when the book was ordered to be prepared, and March, 1722, when the work was approved and ordered printed, the passage could not have existed as a regulation. In the first place, it was directly antagonistic to the body of the work, in which there is no mention of the Third degree;¹ but, on the contrary, it is distinctly stated that the Fellow-Crafts were in possession of all the secrets, and they alone could understand them.² Secondly, any such regulation would come in direct conflict with the "Manner of Constituting a Lodge" approved at the same time, and which, completely ignoring the Master's degree, directed the Master and Wardens to be selected from among the Fellow Crafts of the Lodge. The Master's degree could not have been known at that time as a distinct part of the system of Freemasonry, and no regulation in reference to it was therefore necessary.

Anderson has by implication admitted the soundness of this reasoning. When he published the second edition of the *Constitutions* in 1738, the Third degree being then a recognized part of the system, he changed the words "Fellow-Crafts" wherever they occurred in the "Charges," as indicating the highest degree in the "Regulations," and in the "Manner of Constituting a Lodge," to the words "Master Mason."

We may fairly believe that the suspected clause was inserted in the 13th Regulation at the beginning of the year 1723, just before the work was issued from the press. There was neither time nor opportunity to make any other changes in the book and its appendices. Therefore this clause stands in reference to all the other parts of the Constitutions, Regulations, etc., in all the awkwardness which we have endeavored to show.

¹ Describing the Temple of Solomon, Anderson, it is true, enumerates among the workmen "3,600 Princes or Master Masons, to conduct the work according to Solomon's directions." (Page 10.) But it is very clear that these were simply "Masters of the Work" — the "Magistri Operis" of the old Operative Freemasons — skilled Craftsmen superintending the bands or Lodges of workmen in the construction of the building.

² In a note to the "Book of Constitutions," Anderson says: "No man can indeed understand it (Freemasonry) without the key of a Fellow-Craft." Certainly, he at that time knew nothing of a higher degree. This passage was probably written in 1721, when he was directed by the Grand Lodge to compile a "Book of Constitutions." Much of the proposed work was then in manuscript.

For what purpose? The reply to this question will involve the determination of the time at which the present Third degree was introduced into the ritual of Freemasonry. The theory which we submit on this subject is as follows:

If the suspected clause which has been under consideration be admitted to be no genuine part of the *Book of Constitutions*, then it must follow that there is not the slightest evidence of the existence of our Third degree in the Ritual of Speculative Freemasonry up to the year 1723.

It has been very generally accepted that the arrangement of Freemasonry into the present system of three degrees was the work of Dr. Desaguliers, assisted by Anderson, Payne, and perhaps some other co-workers. The perfecting of this system was of very slow growth. At first there was but the simplest ceremony, which had been derived from the Operative Freemasons of preceding centuries. This was the degree practiced in 1717, when the socalled "Revival" took place. No doubt it was improved by Desaguliers, who was Grand Master in 1719, and who probably about that time began his ritualistic experiments. The fact that Payne, in 1718, "desired any brethren to bring to the Grand Lodge any old writings and records concerning Masons and Masonry in order to shew the usages of antient times,"¹ exhibits a disposition and preparation for improvement.

The First and Second degrees had been modeled out of the one primitive ceremony about the year 1719. The "Charges" compiled in 1720 by Grand Master Payne recognize the Fellow-Craft as the leading degree and the one from which the officers of Lodges and of the Grand Lodge were to be selected. The same recognition is found in the "General Regulations," and in the *Constitutions* which were printed in 1723.

Up to this time we find no notice of the Third degree. The "particular Lodges" conferred only the First degree. Admission or initiation into the Second degree was done in the Grand Lodge. This was perhaps owing to the fact that the friends of the new degree were unwilling to place it out of their immediate control, lest improper persons might be admitted or the ceremonies be imperfectly performed.

¹ "Book of Constitutions," 2d edition, 1738.

We may well surmise that in 1722 Desaguliers and his co-workers had directed their attention to a more complete organization.

The Operative Freemasons had three different ranks or classes of workmen, but not degrees in the modern Masonic sense of that word. These were the Masters, who undertook the work and superintended it; the Fellow-Crafts or Journeymen, who did the manual labor; and the Apprentices, who were engaged in acquiring a knowledge of their handicraft.

After the "Revival," in 1717, Desaguliers¹ may have divided one ceremony common to the three classes into two, Entered Apprentice and Fellow-Craft. We can not suppose that this was a mere division of the esoteric instruction into two parts. All is here, of course, mere guesswork. The rituals were oral, and there is no memorial of them left except what we can infer from *The Grand Mystery* and the Sloane manuscript, No. 3329. But we may believe that taking the primitive initiation of the Operatives as a foundation, there was built upon it enlarged ceremonies and lectures. The catechism was probably changed, and the "Mason Word," as the Operatives called it, with other secrets, was added to the Second degree to be again transferred to the Third.

After this, the ritualists continued to exercise inventive genius, and perfected the series of degrees by adding that for the Masters. But not having thoroughly perfected the ritual of the degree until after the time of publication of the *Book of Constitutions*, it was not probably circulated among the Craft until the year 1723.

The Second degree, as we have seen, had been formed in the year 1719. Its ritual had been completed, but the Masters of the Lodges had not yet become so well acquainted with its forms and ceremonies as to be capable of managing an initiation.

The Lodges, therefore, between 1719 and 1723, did not confer the Second degree. They were not restricted from so doing by any regulation, for there were no regulations on the subject enacted until the approval of the *Book of Constitutions* by the Grand Lodge in January, 1723. Besides, if there had been any law restricting the conferring of the Second degree to the Grand

¹ References to Desaguliers as a leading ritualist in the old records has led to a fairly general belief that to his efforts are we indebted for much perfecting of the Craft degrees, if not indeed to the separation into the three present ceremonies of the previous system.

Lodge, Desaguliers and his associates would not have violated the law, which was of his own making, by conferring it in 1721 in a Lodge in Edinburgh.

The fact undoubtedly is that the Lodges did not confer the Second degree in consequence of a usage derived from necessity. Dr. Desaguliers and his collaborators were the only persons in possession of the ritual. Therefore they were qualified to confer the degree, which they always did in the Grand Lodge, for two reasons: First, for their own convenience, and secondly, because they feared that if the ceremony of initiation was intrusted to the officers of the Lodges who were inexperienced and unskillful, it might be mutilated or unsatisfactorily performed.

In the meantime such students as Desaguliers extended their labors in ritualmaking and invented a supplementary or Third degree. But as is said of a cardinal whose appointment the Pope has made but has not yet announced to the College of Cardinals, the degree was still *in petto*. The knowledge of it was confined to Dr. Desaguliers and a few of his friends.

We believe it absolutely impossible that the degree could have been known generally to the members of the Grand Lodge. For with the knowledge that the establishment of such a degree was even in contemplation, they would not have approved a series of regulations which recognized throughout the Second or Fellow-Craft as the highest degree in Speculative Freemasonry, and the one from which Grand Masters were in future to be selected.

But a code of laws was about to be established for the government of the Craft — a code expressly appropriated to the new system of Speculative Freemasonry, which by this time had completely separated from the Operative institution.

This code was to be published for the information of the Fraternity, so that every Freemason might know what was to be henceforth his duties and his rights. Law was now to control custom. If there were no positive regulation which restricted the conferring of the Second degree to the Grand Lodge, it would, if permanently adopted as a part of the new system, fall into the hands of the Masters of the particular Lodges.

This was an evil which for the reason already assigned was, if possible, to be avoided. It would also apply to the Third degree, which, though not yet in practical existence, was, soon after the

adoption of the "General Regulations," to be presented to the Grand Lodge and put in working order.

Therefore, anticipating the spread of the Third degree, and being desirous to restrict it as well as the Second, by a positive law, to the Grand Lodge, Desaguliers, with Anderson, interpolated, at the last moment, into the 13th of the "General Regulations" the words, "Apprentices must be admitted Masters and Fellow Craft only here, unless by dispensation."

Of course this is a serious charge to make against these leaders of the Craft, and it would be an act of great temerity to do so, unless there were ample proof to sustain it. But we are of the opinion that the arguments here advanced, though based only on legitimate inferences and the internal evidence afforded by the document itself, have shown that this passage could never have formed a part of the "Regulations" as originally compiled by Payne and afterwards approved and adopted by the Grand Lodge.

While we pay all due respect to the memory of Dr. Anderson, and hold in grateful remembrance his devotion in the foundation and advancement of Speculative Freemasonry, it is impossible to concede to him the possession of those virtues of accuracy which are essential to the character of a reliable historian.

The motive of Desaguliers and Anderson for inserting the clause into the "General Regulations" was to prevent the two new degrees from falling into the hands of unskilled Masters of Lodges, until by experience they should become qualified to confer them.

They were not long, it appears, in becoming qualified, or at least the doubts of their qualification were soon dispelled, for we find that on the 22d of November, 1725, less than three years after its appearance in the *Book of Constitutions*, the Regulation was rescinded, and it was ordered by the Grand Lodge that "the Master of a Lodge, with his Wardens and a competent number of the Lodge assembled in due form, can make Masters and Fellows at discretion."¹

It might be argued that although the words "Master Mason" may be an interpolation, the rule regulating the conferring of the Second degree might well have formed a part of the original "Regulations," seeing that they were not compiled until after the framing of the Second degree.

¹Anderson's "Constitutions." 2d edition, p. 161.

But the argument founded on the unfitness of subjects and the awkward interruption of their continuity in the paragraph occasioned by the insertion of the suspected words, applies to the whole passage. If the internal evidence advanced is effective against a single word of the passage on these grounds, it is effective against all.

Bro. Lyon, in his *History of the Lodge of Edinburgh*,¹ has supplied us with an authentic document, which presents the strongest presumptive evidence of three facts. 1. That the Second degree had been invented before the year 1721, and at that time constituted a part of the new Speculative system. 2. That in the English lodges there was no positive law forbidding the conferring of it by them, but only a recognized custom. 3. That in the year 1721 the Third degree had not been invented.

Dr. Desaguliers paid a visit to Edinburgh in the year 1721 and placed himself in communication with the Freemasons of that city.

A record of the most important Masonic event that occurred during that visit is preserved in the minutes of the Lodge of Edinburgh for the 24th and 25th of August, 1721. This record is published by Bro. Lyon in his history of that Lodge and reads thus:

"Att Maries chappell the 24 of August, 1721 years, James Wattson, present deacon of the Masons of Edinbr., Preses. The which day Doctor John Theophilus Desaguliers, fellow of the Royall Societie, and chaplain in Ordinary to his Grace, James, Duke of Chandois, late Generall Master of the Mason Lodges in England, being in town and desirous to have a conference with the Deacon, Warden, and Master Masons of Edinbr., which was accordingly granted, and finding him duly qualified in all points of Masonry, they received him as a Brother into their Societie.

"Likeas, upon the 25th day of the sd. moneth the Deacon, Wardens, Masters, and several other members of the Societie, together with the sd. Doctor Desaguliers, haveing mett att Maries Chapell, there was a supplication presented to them by John Campbell, Esqr., Lord Provost of Edinbr., George Preston and Hugh Hathorn, Baillies; James Nimo, the asurer; William Livingston, Deacon-convener of the Trades thereof, and George Irving, Clerk to the Dean of Gild Court, and humbly craving to

¹ "History of the Lodge of Edinburgh," p. 151.

T H E
CONSTITUTIONS
O F T H E
F R E E - M A S O N S
C O N T A I N I N G T H E
H i s t o r y , C h a r g e s , R e g u l a t i o n s , &c.
of that most Ancient and Right
Worshipful *F R A T E R N I T Y*.
—
For the Use of the LODGES.



L O N D O N:

Printed by WILLIAM HUNTER, for JOHN SENEX at the *Globe*,
and JOHN HOOKE at the *Flower-de-luce* over-against St. Dunstan's
Church, in Fleet-street.

In the Year of Masonry — 5723
Anno Domini — — 1723

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T H E
CONSTITUTION,
*History, Laws, Charges, Orders,
Regulations, and Usages,*
O F T H E
Right Worshipful FRATERNITY of
Accepted Free MASONS;
COLLECTED
From their general RECORDS, and
their faithful TRADITIONS of
many Ages.

TO BE READ

At the Admission of a NEW BROTHER, when the
Master or *Warden* shall begin, or order some
other Brother to read as follows:



D A M, our first Parent, created after the
Image of God, *the great Architect of the
Universe*, must have had the Liberal
Sciences, particularly *Geometry*, written on Year of
the World
1.
4003.
before
Christ.
his Heart; for even since the Fall, we find
the Principles of it in the Hearts of his Offspring, and
which, in process of time, have been drawn forth into

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T H E
C H A R G E S
O F A
F R E E - M A S O N ,
E X T R A C T E D F R O M

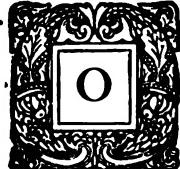
The ancient **R E C O R D S** of L O D G E S
beyond Sea, and of those in *England, Scotland,*
and *Ireland*, for the Use of the *Lodges* in L O N D O N :

T O B E R E A D

At the making of N E W B R E T H R E N , or when the
M A S T E R shall order it.

The **G e n e r a l H e a d s**, viz.

I. F G O D and R E L I G I O N .



II. Of the C I V I L M A G I S T R A T E supreme and
subordinate.

III. Of L O D G E S .

IV. Of M A S T E R S , *Wardens*, *Fellows*, and *Apprentices*.

V. Of the Management of the *Craft* in working.

VI. Of B E H A V I O U R , viz.

1. In the Lodge while *constituted*.
2. After the Lodge is over and the *Brethren* not gone.
3. When Brethren meet without *Strangers*, but not in a *Lodge*.
4. In Presence of *Strangers not Masons*.
5. At *Home*, and in the *Neighbourhood*.
6. Towards a *strange Brother*.

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I. Con-

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I. *Concerning God and Religion.*

A *Mason* is oblig'd, by his Tenure, to obey the moral Law; and if he rightly understands the Art, he will never be a stupid *Atheist*, nor an irreligious *Libertine*. But though in ancient Times Masons were charg'd in every Country to be of the Religion of that Country or Nation, whatever it was, yet 'tis now thought more expedient only to oblige them to that Religion in which all Men agree, leaving their particular Opinions to themselves; that is, to be *good Men and true*, or Men of Honour and Honesty, by whatever Denominations or Persuasions they may be distinguish'd; whereby Masonry becomes the *Center of Union*, and the Means of conciliating true Friendship among Persons that must have remain'd at a perpetual Distance.

II. *Of the Civil Magistrate supreme and subordinate.*

A *Mason* is a peaceable Subject to the Civil Powers, wherever he resides or works, and is never to be concern'd in Plots and Conspiracies against the Peace and Welfare of the Nation, nor to behave himself undutifully to inferior magistrates; for as Masonry hath been always injured by War, Bloodshed, and Confusion, so ancient Kings and Princes have been much dispos'd to encourage the Craftsmen, because of their Peaceableness and *Loyalty*, whereby they practically answer'd the Cavils of their Adversaries, and promoted the Honour of the Fraternity, who ever flourish'd in Times of Peace. So that if a Brother should be a Rebel against the State, he is not to be countenanc'd in his Rebellion, however he may be pitied as an unhappy Man; and, if convicted of no other Crime, though the loyal Brotherhood must and ought to disown his Rebellion, and give no Umbrage or Ground of political Jealousy to the Government for the time being; they cannot expel him from the *Lodge*, and his Relation to it remains indefeasible.

III. *Of*

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III. Of Lodges.

A LODGE is a Place where *Masons* assemble and work: Hence that Assembly, or duly organiz'd Society of *Masons*, is call'd a LODGE, and every Brother ought to belong to one, and to be subject to its *By-Laws* and the GENERAL REGULATIONS. It is either *particular* or *general*, and will be best understood by attending it, and by the Regulations of the *General* or *Grand Lodge* hereunto annex'd. In ancient Times, no *Master* or *Fellow* could be absent from it, especially when warn'd to appear at it, without incurring a severe Censure, until it appear'd to the *Master* and *Wardens*, that pure Necessity hinder'd him.

The Persons admitted Members of a *Lodge* must be good and true Men, free-born, and of mature and discreet Age, no Bondmen, no Women, no immoral or scandalous Men, but of good Report.

IV. Of Masters, Wardens, Fellows, and Apprentices.

All Preferment among *Masons* is grounded upon real Worth and personal Merit only; that so the *Lords* may be well served, the Brethren not put to Shame, nor the *Royal Craft* despis'd: Therefore no *Master* or *Warden* is chosen by Seniority, but for his Merit. It is impossible to describe these things in writing, and every Brother must attend in his Place, and learn them in a way peculiar to this Fraternity: Only *Candidates* may know, that no *Master* should take an *Apprentice*, unless he has sufficient Employment for him, and unless he be a perfect Youth, having no Maim or Defect in his Body, that may render him uncapable of learning the *Art*, of serving his *Master's Lord*, and of being made a *Brother*, and then a *Fellow-Craft* in due time, even after he has served such a Term of Years as the Custom of the Country directs; and that he should be descended of honest Parents; that so, when otherwise qualify'd, he may arrive to the Honour of being the *WARDEN*, and then the *Master* of the *Lodge*, the *Grand Warden*, and at length the *GRAND-MASTER* of all the *Lodges*, according to his Merit.

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No Brother can be a WARDEN until he has pass'd the part of a *Fellow-Craft*; nor a MASTER until he has acted as a *Warden*, nor GRAND-WARDEN until he has been *Master* of a *Lodge*, nor **Grand Master** unless he has been a *Fellow-Craft* before his Election, who is also to be nobly born, or a *Gentleman* of the best Fashion, or some eminent *Scholar*, or some curious *Architect*, or other *Artist*, descended of honest Parents, and who is of singular great Merit in the Opinion of the *Lodges*. And for the better, and easier, and more honourable Discharge of his Office, the *Grand-Master* has a Power to chuse his own DEPUTY GRAND-MASTER, who must be then, or must have been formerly, the *Master* of a particular *Lodge*, and has the Privilege of acting whatever the GRAND-MASTER, his *Principal*, should act, unless the said *Principal* be present, or interpose his Authority by a Letter.

These Rulers and Governors, *supreme* and *subordinate*, of the ancient *Lodge*, are to be obey'd in their respective Stations by all the Brethren, according to the *old Charges* and *Regulations*, with all Humility, Reverence, Love, and Alacrity.

V. Of the Management of the CRAFT in working.

All *Masons* shall work honestly on working Days, that they may live creditably on *holy Days*; and the time appointed by the Law of the Land, or confirm'd by Custom, shall be observ'd.

The most expert of the *Fellow-Craftsmen* shall be chosen or appointed the *Master*, or Overseer of the *Lord's Work*; who is to be call'd MASTER by those that work under him. The *Craftsmen* are to avoid all ill Language, and to call each other by no disobliging Name, but *Brother* or *Fellow*; and to behave themselves courteously within and without the *Lodge*.

The *Master*, knowing himself to be able of Cunning, shall undertake the *Lord's Work* as reasonably as possible, and truly dispend his Goods as if they were his own; nor to give more Wages to any Brother or *Apprentice* than he really may deserve.

Both the **Master** and the *Masons* receiving their Wages justly, shall be faithful to the *Lord*, and honestly finish their Work, whether Task

or

or *Journey*; nor put the Work to *Task* that hath been accustom'd to *Journey*.

None shall discover Envy at the Prosperity of a Brother, nor supplant him, or put him out of his Work, if he be capable to finish the same; for no Man can finish another's Work so much to the *Lord's Profit*, unless he be thoroughly acquainted with the Designs and Draughts of him that began it.

When a *Fellow-Craftsman* is chosen *Warden* of the Work under the *Master*, he shall be true both to *Master* and *Fellows*, shall carefully oversee the Work in the *Master's Absence* to the *Lord's Profit*; and his Brethren shall obey him.

All *Masons* employ'd, shall meekly receive their Wages without Murmuring or Mutiny, and not desert the *Master* till the Work is finish'd.

A *younger Brother* shall be instructed in working, to prevent spoiling the Materials for want of Judgment, and for encreasing and continuing of *Brotherly Love*.

All the Tools used in working shall be approved by the Grand Lodge.

No *Labourer* shall be employ'd in the proper Work of *Masonry*; nor shall *free Masons* work with those that are *not free*, without an urgent Necessity; nor shall they teach *Labourers* and *unaccepted Masons*, as they should teach a *Brother* or *Fellow*.

VI. Of BEHAVIOUR, VIZ.

1. In the Lodge while constituted.

You are not to hold private Committees, or separate Conversation, without Leave from the *Master*, nor to talk of any thing impertinent or unseemly, nor interrupt the *Master* or *Wardens*, or any Brother speaking to the *Master*: Nor behave yourself ludicrously or jestingly while the *Lodge* is engaged in what is serious and solemn; nor use any unbecoming Language upon any Pretence whatsoever:

but

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but to pay due Reverence to your *Master, Wardens, and Fellows*, and put them to worship.

If any Complaint be brought, the Brother found guilty shall stand to the Award and Determination of the *Lodge*, who are the proper and competent Judges of all such Controversies, (unless you carry it by *Appeal to the GRAND LODGE*) and to whom they ought to be referr'd, unless a *Lord's Work* be hinder'd the mean while, in which Case a particular Reference may be made; but you must never go to Law about what concerneth *Masonry*, without an absolute Necessity apparent to the *Lodge*.

2. **Behaviour after the L O D G E is over and the Brethren not gone.**

You may enjoy yourselves with innocent Mirth, treating one another according to Ability, but avoiding all Excess, or forcing any Brother to eat or drink beyond his Inclination, or hindering him from going when his Occasions call him, or doing or saying any thing offensive, or that may forbid an *easy and free Conversation*; for that would blast our Harmony, and defeat our laudable Purposes. Therefore no private Piques or Quarrels must be brought within the Door of the *Lodge*, far less any Quarrels about *Religion, or Nations, or State Policy*, we being only, as *Masons*, of the *Catholick Religion* above-mention'd; we are also of all *Nations, Tongues, Kindreds, and Languages*, and are resolved against **all Politicks**, as what never yet conduc'd to the Welfare of the *Lodge*, nor ever will. This *Charge* has been always strictly enjoin'd and observ'd; but especially ever since the *Reformation in BRITAIN*, or the Dissent and Secession of these Nations from the *Communion of ROME*.

3. **Behaviour when Brethren meet without Strangers, but not in a Lodge form'd.**

You are to salute one another in a courteous manner, as you will be instructed, calling each other *Brother*, freely giving mutual Instruction as shall be thought expedient, without being overseen or overheard,

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heard, and without encroaching upon each other, or derogating from that Respect which is due to any Brother, were he not a Mason: For though all *Masons* are as *Brethren* upon the same *Level*, yet *Masonry* takes no Honour from a Man that he had before; nay rather it adds to his Honour, especially if he has deserv'd well of the Brotherhood, who must give Honour to whom it is due, and avoid *ill Manners*.

4. **Behaviour in Presence of STRANGERS not Masons.**

You shall be cautious in your Words and Carriage, that the most penetrating Stranger shall not be able to discover or find out what is not proper to be intimated; and sometimes you shall divert a Discourse, and manage it prudently for the Honour of the *worshipful Fraternity*.

5. **Behaviour at HOME, and in your Neighbourhood.**

You are to act as becomes a moral and wise Man; particularly, not to let your Family, Friends, and Neighbours know the *Concerns* of the *Lodge, &c.* but wisely to consult your own Honour, and that of the *ancient Brotherhood*, for Reasons not to be mention'd here. You must also consult your Health, by not continuing together too late, or too long from home, after Lodge Hours are past; and by avoiding of Gluttony or Drunkenness, that your Families be not neglected or injured, nor you disabled from working.

6. **Behaviour towards a strange Brother.**

You are cautiously to examine him, in such a Method as Prudence shall direct you, that you may not be impos'd upon by an ignorant false *Pretender*, whom you are to reject with Contempt and Derision, and beware of giving him any Hints of Knowledge.

But if you discover him to be a true and genuine *Brother*, you are to respect him accordingly; and if he is in want, you must relieve him if you can, or else direct him how he may be reliev'd: You must employ

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ploy him some Days, or else recommend him to be employ'd. But you are not charged to do beyond your Ability, only to prefer a poor *Brother*, that is a *good Man and true*, before any other poor People in the same Circumstances.

FINALLY, All these **Charges** you are to observe, and also those that shall be communicated to you in *another way*; cultivating **BROTHERLY-LOVE**, the Foundation and Cape-stone, the *Cement* and *Glory* of this ancient *Fraternity*, avoiding all Wrangling and Quarrelling, all Slander and Backbiting, not permitting others to slander any honest Brother, but defending his Character, and doing him all good Offices, as far as is consistent with your *Honour* and *Safety*, and no farther. And if any of them do you Injury, you must apply to your own or his *Lodge*; and from thence you may appeal to the **GRAND LODGE** at the *Quarterly Communication*, and from thence to the *annual GRAND LODGE*, as has been the ancient laudable Conduct of our Fore-fathers in every Nation; never taking a *legal Course* but when the Case cannot be otherwise decided, and patiently listning to the honest and friendly Advice of *Master* and *Fellows*, when they would prevent your going to Law with *Strangers*, or would excite you to put a speedy Period to all *Law-Suits*, that so you may mind the *Affair of MASONRY* with the more Alacrity and Success; but with respect to *Brothers* or *Fellows* at Law, the *Master* and Brethren should kindly offer their Mediation, which ought to be thankfully submitted to by the contending Brethren; and if that Submission is impracticable, they must however carry on their *Process*, or *Law-Suit*, without Wrath and Rancor (not in the common way) saying or doing nothing which may hinder *Brotherly Love*, and good Offices to be renew'd and continu'd; that all may see the *benign Influence* of **MASONRY**, as all true *Masons* have done from the Beginning of the *World*, and will do to the End of *Time*.

Amen so mote it be.

be admitted members of the sd. Societie; which being considered by them, they granted the desire thereof, and the saids honourable persons were admitted and receaved Entered Apprentices and Fellow-Crafts accordingly.

"And sicklike upon the 28th day of the said moneth there was another petition given in by Sr. Duncan Campbell of Lochnell, Barronet; Robert Wightman, Esqr., present Dean of Gild of Edr.; George Drummond, Esq., late Treasurer thereof; Archibald M'Aulay, late Bailly there; and Patrick Lindsay, merchant there, craveing the like benefit, which was also granted, and they were receaved as members of the societie as the other persons above mentioned. The same day James Key and Thomas Aikman, servants to James Wattson, deacon of the masons, were admitted and receaved entered apprentices, and payed to James Mack, Warden, the ordinary dues as such. Ro. Alison, Clerk."

Bro. Lyon contends that "there can be but one opinion as to the nature and object of Dr. Desaguliers's visit to the Lodge of Edinburgh." That was the introduction into Scotland of the new system of Freemasonry recently worked out by him for the Lodges of London. That he conferred only the First and Second degrees is satisfactory proof that the Third had not been perfected in its latest form.

Lyon says: "It is more than probable that on both occasions (the two meetings of the Lodge recorded above) the ceremony of entering and passing would, as far as the circumstances of the Lodges would permit, be conducted by Desaguliers himself in accordance with the ritual he was anxious to introduce."¹

This is probably true. But why did he not complete the instruction by conferring the Third degree? Bro. Lyon's explanation here is far from satisfactory:

"It was not," he says, "till 1722-23 that the English regulation restricting the conferring of the Third Degree to Grand Lodge was repealed. This may account for the Doctor confining himself to the two lesser degrees."

Bro. Lyon, usually so accurate, has here unaccountably fallen into two important errors.

First, the regulation alluded to was not repealed in 1723 but was only issued in that year. The repeal took place in 1725.

¹ "History of the Lodge of Edinburgh," p. 153.

His next error is that the restriction was confined to the Third degree, while in fact, if we accept the passage in the "General Regulations" as genuine, it restricted, as we have seen, the conferring of both the Second and Third degrees to the Grand Lodge.

If Desaguliers had considered himself governed by this regulation (which was impossible, seeing that it had not been enacted until after his visit to Edinburgh), he would have been restrained from conferring the Second as well as the Third degree.

That he conferred the Second degree in a Lodge of Edinburgh, notwithstanding the usage in London of conferring it only in the Grand Lodge, might be accounted for on the supposition that he did not consider that the English custom was binding on Scottish Freemasons.

Besides, there was, at that time, no Grand Lodge in Scotland. If he had not conferred the degree in a Lodge, the object of his visit would have been frustrated, and that was to introduce into the sister kingdom the new system of Speculative Freemasonry he had developed and which had been just adopted in England, or rather in London.

But that he should have taken a long and tiresome journey to Edinburgh (a journey far more arduous than it is in the present day of railroads) for the purpose of introducing into the Scotch Lodges the ritual favored by him for English Freemasonry, and yet have left the task uncompleted by omitting to communicate the most important part of the degree which was at the summit, is incomprehensible, unless we suppose that the Third degree had not, at that time, been formed into present final shape.

Let the language of the "General Regulations" receive the only interpretation of which it is capable. Then it is evident that in the beginning of the year 1723, when the item was published in the *Book of Constitutions*, the degree of Fellow-Craft was the highest degree known to the Freemasons of London.

Masonic students, except a few who cling to the old legends and traditions, concede that our Third degree can not be historically traced earlier than the second decade of the 18th century.

The general opinion is that it was first put into the ritual of Speculative Freemasonry a very short time after the organization of the Grand Lodge in London, in the year 1717. But we have proved that the actual introduction as a working degree was not

ANTHONY SAYER
First Grand Master of Speculative Freemasons, 1717



until six years afterwards, namely, 1723, and after the publication of the first edition of the *Book of Constitutions*, and that the only passage referring to it in that work or in the "General Regulations" appended to it, was in anticipation of its intended use.

The first writer who questioned the antiquity of the Third degree as conferred under the Grand Lodge was Laurence Dermott, the Grand Secretary, and afterward the Deputy Grand Master of that body of Freemasons known in Masonic history as the "Antients." In the second edition of the *Ahimann Rezon*, published in 1764, he has, in the part called "A Philacteria," the following reference to the Third degree:¹

"About the year 1717 some joyous companions who had passed the degree of a Craft (though very rusty) resolved to form a Lodge for themselves, in order (by conversation) to recollect what had been formerly dictated to them, or, if that should be found impracticable, to substitute something new, which might for the future pass for Masonry amongst themselves. At this meeting the question was asked, whether any person in the assembly knew the Master's part, and being answered in the negative, it was resolved *nem. con.* (nobody objecting) that the deficiency should be made up with a new composition, and what fragments of the old order found amongst them, should be immediately reformed and made more pliable to the humours of the people."

This extract confirms the evidence we have given that after 1717 a "Master's part" or Third degree had been produced.

Dr. Oliver, notwithstanding his excessive belief in respect to the myths and legends of Freemasonry, has expressed doubts as to "the extreme antiquity of the present arrangement of the three degrees."² In one of his latest works³ he admits that Desaguliers and Anderson were accused of the making of the Hiramic legend and of the manufacture of the degree, which he says, they did not deny.

Findel says: "Originally, it seems, there was but one degree of initiation in 1717. . . . Introduction of the degrees of Fellow-Craft and Master Mason took place in so imperceptible a manner, that we do not know the accurate date."⁴

¹ This statement is not in the 1st edition, published in 1756.

² "State of Freemasonry in the 18th Century." In his edition of Hutchinson.

³ "The Freemason's Treasury," Spencer, 1869.

⁴ "History of Freemasonry," Lyon's Translation, p. 150.

We do not, however, concur with this learned German writer in his theory that the Third degree originated as a reward for Masonic merits, especially for all the brethren who had passed the chair from 1717 to 1720. Doubtless it was conferred on all who were or had been Masters of Lodges, but Findel places too low an estimate on the design of the degree. Rather would we think it was intended by Desaguliers to develop the religious and philosophic sentiment in Speculative Freemasonry. Probably the "eloquent Oration about Masons and Masonry," which Anderson tells us he delivered before the Grand Lodge in 1721, but which is lost, explained his views on this subject.

Bro. Hughan, who is of the very highest authority on the documentary history of English Freemasonry, settles the question thus:¹

"The sublime degree of a Master Mason, alias the 'Third degree,' may be very ancient, but, so far, the evidence respecting its history goes no farther back than the early part of the last century. Few writers on the subject appear to base their observations on facts, but prefer the 'traditions' (so-called) derived from old Freemasons. We, however, give the preference to the minutes and by-laws of Lodges, as all of which we have either seen, traced, or obtained copies of, unequivocally prove the degree of Master Mason to be an early introduction of the Revivalists of A.D. 1717. No record prior to the second decade of the last century ever mentions Masonic degrees, and all the manuscripts preserved decidedly confirm us in the belief that in the mere Operative (although partly Speculative) career of Freemasonry the ceremony of reception was of a most unpretentious and simple character, mainly for the communication of certain lyrics and secrets, and for the conservation of ancient customs of the Craft."

Hughan quotes a manuscript (No. 23,202) in the British Museum showing that the rules of a Musical and Architectural Society formed in February, 1724, in London, required its members to be Master Masons.² This might be, and yet the degree might not have been framed up until January, 1723.

¹ See *Voice of Masonry* for August, 1873.

² "The Book of the Fundamental Constitutions and Orders of the Philo Musicæ et Architecturæ Societas, London, 1725-1727" has been reproduced in facsimile in beautiful style by Quatuor Coronati Lodge, No. 2076, with introduction and notes by Bro. W. Harry Rylands.

He also cites the minutes of a Lodge held at Lincoln (England). From these minutes it appears that in December, 1734, the body of the Lodge consisted of Fellow-Crafts; and when the "two new Wardens, as well as several other Brothers of the Lodge, well qualified and worthy of the degree of Master had not been called thereto," the Master directed a Lodge of Masters to be held for the purpose of admitting these candidates to the Third degree.

Hence, as Bro. Hughan says, the Lodge at that time worked the degree only at intervals. He concludes that as there was a rule about the fee when a "Brother made in another Lodge shall be passed Master in this," that "all Lodges had not authority or did not work the degree in question." Probably they had the authority but not the ability.

The provision in the "General Regulations," restricting the conferring of the Second and Third degrees to the Grand Lodge was rescinded on November 22, 1725, and yet nine years afterwards the Third degree was not conferred in all Lodges.

It is singular that in 1731, when the Duke of Lorraine was made a Freemason in a special Lodge held at the Hague, notwithstanding that Desaguliers presided over it, he received only the First and Second degrees, and came afterwards to England to have the Third conferred upon him.

Evidence of the Third degree being conferred in Scotland is in the minutes of Canongate Kilwinning Lodge in a record dated March 31, 1735.¹

The degree is referred to in the minutes of St. Mary's Chapel Lodge under the date of November 1, 1738, when George Drummond, Esq., an Entered Apprentice, "was past a Fellow-Craft and also raised as a Master Mason in due form."²

According to Bro. Lyon, possession of the Third degree was not at this period a necessary qualification to a seat in the Grand Lodge of Scotland. For thirty years after its introduction to Mary's Chapel it conferred no rights in the management of the Lodge that were not possessed by Fellow-Crafts. It was not, in fact, until 1765 that Master Masons alone were qualified to hold office.

¹ Lyon, "History of the Lodge of Edinburgh," p. 213.

² "History of the Lodge of Edinburgh," p. 212.

Continental Speculative Freemasonry, having derived its organized existence from the Grand Lodge of England, must have borrowed its forms and ceremonies and ritual from the same source, and thus received the Third degree at a still later period.

An early use of the word "raised" was noted by W. J. Hughan in the *Freemason*, May 17, 1890. In the charter granted by the Grand Lodge of Scotland under date of November 30, 1737, to the Old Kilwinning Lodge of Inverness, it is declared that the members had "received and entered apprentices, past Fellow Crafts, and raised Master Masons" from December 27, 1678. Unfortunately, as Bro. Hughan says, the ancient records have not been published in justification of such titles and customs.

Any belief that we have developed our elaborate system of degrees from a crude method of initiation practiced by stone-cutters early in the 18th century as a means of "hazing" or rough practical joking exercised upon the newcomers within their ranks seems absurd. Common as the belief is that our present Third degree is the cultivated outcome of a very simple pledge of secrecy plus a few private signs of recognition that grew from a rude beginning about 1717, we have never relished this conclusion, great and many as have been the authorities holding that opinion.

There are alternative ideas of no little force. By no means is it sure that we may not yet arrive at some dramatic landing place where we shall find just such a showing of staged tragedy and ethics as to fully and satisfactorily explain our true source of the Sublime degree.

Much that we already know is of course improper for publication in a book. But let the reader think upon the following items of interest:

Long before the 1717 organization of the Grand Lodge, the Craft took an active part in the teaching of religion by drama. On festival days, especially on the holidays of patron saints, as the St. Johns, each Gild undertook to present a part of the Bible, the favored portions being from the Gospels, as the Nativity, the Passion and the Resurrection. Manuscripts of these old plays are in existence, as for example, York 1430-1440, Chester 1591-1607, Coventry 1468, Towneley, 15th century, also these comprising 147 distinct plays.

These were remarkable pageants and wonderfully enterprising. They were often staged on wheeled platforms, large enough for several persons to take part at a time in the performance. The stage was double-storied and the lower portion was used as a dressing room. We read of one play where a character had to recite 4,000 verses, the cross was used with much stage machinery, and apparatus to represent earthquakes, fires, etc., and persons and equipment were employed in a way to suggest devoted effort and outlay of labor and money. But the *Oberammergau Passion Play* and *Everyman* that have survived to our own generation prove that the plays of the Gild period were of fine dramatic quality and staged with devoted skill and undoubtedly personal sacrifice.

That such plays were given in coöperation with the Church is a fact beyond dispute. They are ancient almost as organized Christianity. Professor Pearson translates from the now lost manuscript of Herrad of Landsberg: "The old Fathers of the Church in order to strengthen the belief of the faithful and to attract the unbeliever by this manner of religious service, rightly instituted at the Feast of the Epiphany, or the Octave, religious performances of such a kind as the Star guiding the Magi to the new-born Christ, the cruelty of Herod, the dispatch of the soldiers, the lying-in of the Blessed Virgin, the angel warning the Magi not to return to Herod, and other events of the birth of Christ."¹

Dramatic representations are universal, of all times and peoples. Few if any tribes, even the most savage, are without some form of mimic and scenic art.² These exhibitions long preserved their vigor and attraction. All classes of people were interested and the Craftsmen particularly assured an active part in staging these shows. One instance deserves special notice.

"Constantine Porphyrogenitus, of the Macedonian dynasty, was distinguished for his recognition and encouragement of the plays of the Gilds, the forerunners and perhaps the models of the Mysteries, performed by the artisans of the West. These companies of workingmen, with their songs, dialogues and pantomimes, under his patronage, took an important share in every

¹ Karl Pearson, "The Chances of Death," vol. ii, p. 285.

² Joseph S. Tunison, "Dramatic Traditions of the Dark Ages," p. 12; E. B. Tylor, "Primitive Culture," vol. i, p. 285; Max Müller, "Natural Religion," p. 399; E. B. Tylor, "Anthropology," p. 288.

ecclesiastical and civic festival, and preserved their traditions for ages." One such play was given as late as the close of the 18th century at Constantinople as a scenic representation of the expedition of Alexander against Darius. "For almost a thousand years the same pantomimic drama had been represented on the same stage in the same city by the same corps of artisans."¹

While Masonic students generally hesitate at accepting the theory that their ceremonies are born of a Templar origin yet there is some indication of relationship. One of these is through the religious plays. "The chronicles show that the warriors from the West were impressed by the public shows and masquerades, and it is a suggestive fact that the first Mysteries (religious plays) of Western Europe were subsequent to the first crusade." The same author in mentioning "the centuries upon centuries" when the people flocked to see the great plays at Athens, continues, "Pilgrims and Crusaders and wandering peddlers carried to the West, not a notion of the drama, but a notion of religious plays and spectacles such as they were capable of imitating."² This author also points out, on page 18, the masque or theatrical display of death and says, "Death was a favorite character in the mummery of the Middle Ages, as might be inferred from a well-known passage in *Don Quixote*.³"

Christ's life and resurrection were presented in staged pictures by the early Church with music, costume, action, the three features of drama, and with a free use of symbolism. Sometimes there was a quaint combination of religious service and dramatic display. One such instance is of peculiar interest to us.

A manuscript of the 10th century from England, reads thus: "While the third lesson is being recited, four brethren shall costume themselves, and one of these, who is to act a different part from the rest, shall enter clothed in a long white garment,⁴ and going to a position at the side of the tomb, shall sit there quietly,

¹ Joseph S. Tunison, "Dramatic Traditions of the Dark Ages," pp. 116 and 118.

² Joseph S. Tunison, "Dramatic Traditions of the Dark Ages," pp. 62 and 64.

³ Cervantes, "Don Quixote" (English translation), part ii, chap. xxv.

⁴ The reader will note that our word "candidate" comes from the Latin "candidus," white, because office-seekers in ancient Rome wore white togas or gowns. Attention may also be directed in this paragraph to the holding of the palm-branch, to the third response, to the search by three persons, and to the bringing of their findings from the tomb to the altar to show to the Church officials by way of evidence.

holding a palm branch in his hand. And when the third response has been completed, the other three shall come up, dressed in long flowing garments and bearing illuminated censers in their hands; and they shall go to the tomb slowly, as if looking for something. And now, when he who is sitting at the tomb observes these approach . . . he shall begin by singing softly, "Whom seek ye?" Finding the linens, from Christ's body, "They shall put down their censers, take up the linens, and spread them out before the clergy, as if they wished to show that the Lord had risen, and was no longer wrapped in them. Having sung the antiphony (a responsive chant), 'The Lord is risen from the tomb,' they shall place the linens upon the altar."¹

The story of loss and lamentation, discovery and joy, death and resurrection, has curious value for us. From the Church service with the baptismal "Then shall the Priest say: O merciful God, grant that old Adam in this child may be so buried that the new man may be raised up in him," to the ceremonies of rude tribes is a long distance but bridged by striking facts.

For instance: "An initiation among some tribes of southeast Australia, when the boys are assembled, an old man dressed in stringy bark fibre lies down in a grave. He is covered up lightly with sticks and earth. The buried man holds in his hand a small bush which seems to be growing from the ground, and other bushes are stuck in the ground round about. The novices are then brought to the edge of the grave and a song is sung. Gradually, as the song goes on, the bush held by the buried man begins to quiver. It moves more and more and bit by bit the man himself starts up from the grave."²

That the records of our Lodges do not tell us of elaborate degrees is not of itself enough to prove that the ceremonies were simple or very limited in scope. Lodge practice has always in

¹ M. J. Moses, "Introduction, Everyman," p. 6. The play of "Everyman," like the Oberammergau Passion play, is popular today after several hundred years of repeated performances. Freemasons will find that in the play of "Everyman" showing the loss of friends and the approach of death, there is a striking suggestion of monitorial instruction. For instance, these are the character parts of "Fellowship," "Good Deeds" (Wisdom), "Beauty," "Strength" and there is the "Five Wits" (Five Senses), etc. The last line of the play is "Amen, saye ye, for saynt (holy) Charyte." This is worth comparison with the last two lines of the well-known Masonic poem, the Regius manuscript, of the 14th century, "Amen, amen! so mot hyt be! Say we so alle per Charyte."

² Jane Harrison, "Ancient Art and Ritual," p. 104. See also R. H. Matthews, "The Wiradthuri Tribes of Western Australia," *Journal Anthropological Institute*, vol. xxv, 1896, p. 297, and Prof. J. G. Frazer, "The Golden Bough," part iv, p. 229.

Freemasonry repressed the written record to a minimum. Limited records could reasonably go with elaborate ceremonies. It is also possible that in the long stretch over the centuries of Craft proceedings the ceremonies may have grown or even shrunk, alternatively, but because of the restricted records, we are at a loss to say just what range at any period was covered by the degrees.

We even find records of what seems the same ceremony quite differently treated as to fullness of record. An instance is shown in the minutes of the Lodge at Haughfoot, Scotland, December 22, 1702, which reads in reference to an initiation:

"Of entrie as the apprentice did leaving out the common judge (gauge). Then they whisper the word as before and the Master Mason grips his hand after the ordinary way."

Compare this with the Chetwode Crawley manuscript, early 18th century:

"First of all the apprentices are to be removed out of the Company, and none suffered to stay, but only Masons Masters. Then he who is to be admitted a member of the Fellowship, is put again to his knees, and gets the oath administered to him anew. Afterwards he must go out of the Company with the youngest Master to learn the words and signs of Fellowship. Then coming in again, he makes the Master-sign, and says the same words of entry as the prentice did, only leaving out the Common Judge. Then the Masons whisper the word amongst themselves. Then the Master gives him the word and grips his hand, and afterwards all the Masons; which is all to be done to make a perfect Mason."¹

Let the reader with the knowledge he possesses of the ritual read through the foregoing chapter. He will see how the Third degree grew in the 18th century, and before, and he will also get some useful sidelights on the substance of the ceremony.²

¹ Wm. J. Hughan, "Origin of the English Rite of Freemasonry," revised edition, Leicester, pp. 23-24, also "Proceedings" (Ars) Quatuor Coronati Lodge, 1904.

² The meaning of a Masonic cornerstone is not entirely without reference to the Third degree. The studious Freemason will compare the symbolism of the cornerstone and its laying, its finished workmanship and purpose, the records it contains, the sacrifices made upon it, etc., and he will also recall the old traditions that come down from the stonecutters' Gilds and even earlier of human offerings and tragedies at the dedication of buildings and when their foundations were laid. Such legends attach to many old structures. Notice that it is now certain that the Canaanites, and the Hebrews after them, were wont to consecrate the foundations of a building by a human sacrifice. See the case of Hiel, the Bethelite, who sacrificed his two sons, at the refounding of Jericho and the completion of the walls and gates, 1 Kings, xvi., 34. Consult Hastings' "Dictionary of the Bible," p. 368; also Trumbull's "Threshold Covenant," p. 46; also Macalister's "Bible Sidelights," p. 165.

CHAPTER EIGHTY-ONE

THE DEATH OF OPERATIVE AND THE BIRTH OF SPECULATIVE FREE-MASONRY



ROWTH," says Dr. South, "is progress, and all progress designs and tends to the acquisition of something, of which the growing thing or person is not yet possessed."

This instructive saying of the learned divine is peculiarly applicable to the history of our system of Speculative Freemasonry. Springing into existence at the "Apple Tree Tavern," in London, at the close of the second decade of the 18th century, it made such progress in the acquisition of new knowledge as to completely change its character soon after another ten years had elapsed.

We have seen that it was derived from an older institution whose objects were altogether practical, and whose members were always engaged in the building of public edifices. But there were other members of the Gild who were not Operative Freemasons. These brethren had been admitted to the privileges of membership for the sake of the prestige and influence which the Fraternity expected to obtain from their learning, their wealth, or their rank.

These unprofessional brethren, who were at first called Theoretic Masons or Honorary members, but who afterward assumed the title of Speculative Freemasons, began even in the very outset of what they were pleased, but not at all accurately, to call a Revival, to exercise an unexpected and repressing influence on the Operative Gild.

This influence was so exerted that Operative Freemasonry was gradually pushed from the important place which it had so long occupied. Finally, in and after the year 1723, ceased entirely to take an active part as a distinct factor.

The gradual change from Operative to Speculative Freemasonry is one of the most interesting points in the history of the institution, and is well worth our careful consideration.

Hardly more wonderful is the transformation from the insignificant acorn to the majestic oak, than was this expansion of a Gild of workingmen. Limited in their design and their numbers, they grew into a Fraternity of moralists and philosophers, whose object was the elevation of their fellowmen, and whose influence has extended into every quarter of the civilized world.

Operative Freemasonry flourished in the Middle Ages and long after that period as an association of skillful builders who were in the possession of architectural secrets unknown to the ruder workmen of the same Craft, and who were bound to each other by a fraternal tie. That technical society of architects no longer exists. Like some of the massive cathedrals of its construction, it crumbled into decay. We know it only by what relics we have of what it was.

But Speculative Freemasonry, erected on the Operative ruins, lives and will always live. There is a perpetual memorial in its symbols and its technical language of the source whence it sprang.

Let us now inquire how the one died and how the other was born.

On the 24th day of June in the year 1717 certain Freemasons of London met at the "Goose and Gridiron Tavern" and carried into effect the arrangement made in the previous February, by organizing a Grand Lodge. When they did that it is not to be presumed that any other idea had at that time entered their minds than that of consolidating the four Operative Lodges of which they were members into one body. The motives that actuated them were to produce a stronger union among the Craft than had previously existed, each Lodge having hitherto been independent and isolated, and they were also to enlarge their numbers and to increase their influence, by throwing the door more widely open to the admission of gentlemen who were not otherwise connected with the Craft.

We must recognize the fact that the fashion then prevailed to a remarkable extent in London for men of like sentiments or of the same occupation to form themselves into clubs. The Freemasons, both Operative and Theoretic, in thus uniting, were

doing nothing else than following the fashion of the day, and were really instituting a club of a more elevated character and under a different name.

Hence the consolidation of the four Lodges was called a Grand Lodge, a title and an organization which had previously been unknown to English Freemasonry.¹

There was no thought, at that early period, by those who were engaged in the organization, of changing to any greater extent the character of the society. It was still to be a Gild of Operative Freemasons, but consisting more largely in proportion than ever before of members who were not professional workmen.

"At the revival in 1717," says Dr. Oliver, "the philosophy of the Order was seldom considered, and our facetious brethren did not think it worth their while to raise any question respecting the validity of our legends; nor did they concern themselves much about the truth of our traditions. Their principal object was to pass a pleasant hour in company with a select assemblage of brethren; and that purpose being attained, they waived all inquiry into the truth or probability of either the one or the other."²

The scanty records of the transaction, which Dr. Anderson, our only authority, has supplied, make no mention of those distinguished persons who afterward took a prominent part in effecting the change of Operative into Speculative Freemasonry, and who were indeed the founders of the latter system.

We are told, though we know not on what authentic authority, that Dr. Desaguliers, the leader of the band of reformers, had been admitted five years before into the honorary membership of the Lodge which met at the sign of the "Rummer and Grapes," and which was one of the four that united in the formation of a Grand Lodge.³

Should this be true, and there maybe are good reasons for believing that claim, it can not be doubted that he was present

¹ It is not worth while to repeat the argument so often advanced, and by which Masonic students have satisfied themselves that no Grand Lodge ever existed in England before the year 1717.

² "Discrepancies of Freemasonry," p. 18.

³ The first definite official statement of Dr. Desaguliers' connection with the Craft is of his installation as Grand Master in 1719. His name is not found on the roster of any private Lodge until 1725 when it appears in the list of No. 4, the Lodge at the Horn, Westminster. Bro. E. L. Hawkins thought it probable that this was the Lodge in which Desaguliers was initiated though there is no evidence of this nor of the date of his initiation.

at the organization of the Grand Lodge, and that he took an active part in the proceedings of the meetings both in February and in June, 1717.

Neither the names of Payne nor of Anderson, who later became co-workers of Desaguliers in the formation of Speculative Freemasonry, are mentioned in the brief records of those meetings. If they were present or connected with the organization the fact is not recorded. Payne first appears in June, 1718, when he was elected Grand Master; Desaguliers in 1719, when he was elected to the same office. This would tend to show that both had been for some years in the Fraternity, since newcomers would hardly have been chosen for those positions.

Bro. Mackey held it is not so certain that Anderson was a Freemason in 1717. He thought it is not unlikely that Anderson was soon afterwards admitted, for in September, 1721, the latter had such a reputation in the Society as to be selected by the Duke of Montagu, who was then the Grand Master, to digest the old Gothic Constitutions, a task of great importance.¹

Of one thing, however, there can be no doubt, that no one of these three persons, who were afterward so distinguished for their services in Speculative Freemasonry, had in 1717 been prominently placed before the Craft. In the selection of an officer to preside over the newly established Grand Lodge, the choice fell, not on any one of them, but on a comparatively insignificant person, Mr. Antony Sayer. Of his later Masonic career, we only know that Bro. Sayer was appointed by Dr. Desaguliers one of the Grand Wardens. He is also recorded as having been a Warden at one of the four original Lodges² after he had passed the Grand Mastership. He afterwards fell into financial difficulties, and having received relief from the Grand Lodge, we hear no more of him in the history of Freemasonry.

¹ Bro. W. J. Hughan says, p. 32, "Origin of the English Rite of Freemasonry," revised edition, Leicester, 1909, "As a matter of fact, all Masonic Records before 1717 so far traced and published, are entirely silent. . . . as to Dr. Anderson's connection with the Freemasons prior to the third decade of the 18th century." This was in answer to a claim made by Bro. Clement E. Stretton, "Tectonic Art," published in 1909 at Melton Mowbray, England, that "In 1710 the Rev. James Anderson was the Chaplain of the St. Paul's Gild Masons, who at that time had their headquarters at the Goose and Gridiron Ale House in St. Paul's Churchyard."

² This was the Lodge at the Apple Tree, old No. 3, of which he served as Warden in 1723, and he is also on record as Tiler of the Old King's Arms Lodge, No. 28, late in 1741 or early in 1742.

To Desaguliers, to Payne, and to Anderson we are to credit the creation of that change in the organization of the system of English Freemasonry which gradually led to the removal of the Operative element, and the substitution in its place of one that was purely Speculative. The three brethren were members of the same Lodge, were men of education,¹ were interested in the institution, as is shown by their regular attendance on the meetings of the Grand Lodge until near the middle of the century. They were all zealously engaged in the investigation of the old records of the institution, so as to fit them for the prosecution of the peaceful revolution which they were seeking to accomplish.

Among the many books contributed by Dr. Oliver to the literature of Freemasonry, is one entitled *The Revelations of a Square*, which contains much information concerning the condition of the ritual and the progress of the institution during the early period now under consideration. Unfortunately, there is such a blending of truth and fiction in this work that it is difficult, on many occasions, to separate the one from the other.

We deem it is but fair, however, to admit the author's claim that his statements are not to be accounted "fabulous and without authority because its contents are communicated through an imaginary medium." There is no doubt, as he avers, Bro. Oliver was in possession of authentic vouchers for every transaction.

These vouchers consisted principally of the contents of a Masonic diary kept by his father, who had been initiated in 1784, and was acquainted with a distinguished Freemason who had been active in the Craft during the period of Desaguliers. With this brother the elder Oliver had held many conversations, as well as with others of the 18th century. The substance of these discussions he had committed to his diary. This came into the possession of his son, and is the basis on which Bro. Oliver composed his *Revelations of a Square*.

¹ John Robison, a professor of Natural Philosophy in Edinburgh, wrote and published in 1797 an anti-masonic work entitled "Proofs of a Conspiracy against all the Religions and Government in Europe," etc., the falsehoods in which, unfortunately for the author's reputation, were extended by French and Dutch translations. In this book he says of Anderson and Desaguliers that they were "two persons of little education and of low manners, who had aimed at little more than making a pretext, not altogether contemptible, for a convivial meeting." (P. 71.) This is a fair specimen of Robison's knowledge and judgment.

If Dr. Oliver had given in marginal notes or otherwise special references to the diary and to other sources which he used as authorities for his statements, we do not hesitate to say that *The Revelations of a Square* would, by these proofs of authenticity, be the most valuable of all his historical works.

Nevertheless, we are disposed to accept generally the statements of the work as authentic. If there be sometimes an appearance of the fabulous, it can not be doubted that beneath the fiction there is always a considerable foundation of truth.

According to Oliver, Desaguliers had at that early period determined to revive the Order, which was falling into decay, and had enlisted able and zealous brethren in the support of his plans. Among these were Sayer and Payne, the first and second Grand Masters, and Elliott and Lamball, the first two Wardens, with several others whose names have not elsewhere been transmitted to posterity.¹

There is nothing unreasonable nor improbable in this statement. It is very likely that Desaguliers and a few of his friends had seen and deplored the decaying condition of the four Lodges in London. Equally likely is it that their first thought was that a greater degree of success and prosperity might be secured if the Lodges would give up to some extent the independence and isolation of their condition, and would establish a bond of union by their consolidation under a common head.

Whatever views might have been secretly entertained by Desaguliers and a few friends in his confidence, he could not have openly expressed to the Craft any intention to dissolve the Operative Gild and to establish a Speculative Society in its place. Had such an intention been even suspected by the purely Operative Freemasons who formed part of the membership of the four Lodges, it can not well be doubted that they would have declined to support a scheme which looked eventually to the destruction of their Craft. Consequently the organization of a Grand Lodge would never have been attempted under such conditions.

But we are not willing to charge Desaguliers with such deceit. He was honest in his desire to renew the institution of Operative Freemasonry. He believed that the first step toward that alter-

¹ "Revelations of a Square," chapter i, p. 5.

ation would be the consolidation of the Lodges. He expected that an imperfect code of laws could be improved, and perhaps that a restricted, rude and unpolished ritual might be successively expanded and refined.

Farther than that stage, he was not, it may be supposed, prepared at that time to go. Whatever changes he later made by the working out or editing of degrees which at once established a new system were the results of afterthoughts suggested to his mind by a sequence of circumstances.

One outcome of that labor seems clear. That the change from Operative to Speculative Freemasonry was of definite though gradual growth, we know from the authentic records that are before us.

In the year 1717 we find an Operative Gild presenting itself in cold simplicity of organization as a body of practical workmen to whom were joined some honorary members, who were not Craftsmen. This association had an imperfect and almost shelved system of by-laws. There was but one form of admission. They were provided with secrets common to all classes, and which were of little or no importance, for the architectural and geometrical secrets of the mediæval Craft had been lost. Finally, the society was equipped with an insignificant and unpolished ritual, perhaps but a mere fragment of earlier or later ceremonies, maybe a mere catechism for wandering brethren to put to test their right to the privileges and the hospitality of the Fraternity.

Six years after, in 1723, this association of workmen has disappeared. In its place we find a new society has been erected on the foundations of that edifice which has crumbled into ruins; a society that has repudiated all necessary knowledge of the art of building; to which workmen may be admitted, not because they are workmen, but because they are men of good character and of blameless conduct; with a well-framed code of laws for its government; with three degrees, with three forms of initiation, and with secrets exclusively given to each; and with rituals which, produced by cultured minds, present the germs of a science of symbolism and a moral philosophy.

Operative Freemasonry no longer wields the scepter; it has descended from the throne into its grave, and Speculative Freemasonry, as a living form, has assumed the vacant seat.

That the change was gradually worked out we know, for six years were occupied in its accomplishment. The records of that period, brief and few as they are, unerringly indicate the steps of its gentle but certain progress.

From June, 1717, to June, 1718, under the administration of Antony Sayer, Gentleman, as Grand Master, there are no signs of a contemplated change. He was not, if negative evidence may be accepted as the index of his character, the man to begin so bold an enterprise. His efforts seem to have been directed solely to the strengthening and confirming of the union of the Operative Lodges by consulting at stated periods with their officers.

In the following period, from June, 1718, to June, 1719, George Payne presided over the Craft. Now we discover the first traces of a sentiment tending toward the improvement of the institution. Old manuscripts and records were anxiously sought for that the ancient usages of the Craft might be learned. In preparing for the future it was expedient to know something of the past.

The result of this gathering of old documents was the compilation of the "Charges of a Freemason," attached to the first edition of the *Book of Constitutions*. The composition of this code is generally attributed to Anderson. Without positive testimony on this point, we are inclined to assign the authorship to Payne. He was a noted antiquary, a keen student of the ancient, and well fitted by the turn of his mind to labors of that kind.

Desaguliers was Grand Master from June, 1719, to June, 1720. His administration is made memorable by the first great change in the system.

An examination of the old manuscripts which had been collected by Payne must have shown that the body of the Craft had always been divided into two classes, Apprentices and Fellows. These brethren were distinguished by the possession of certain privileges peculiar to each class as workmen.

In the Lodge they assembled together and partook equally of its counsels. But the prominence of the Fellows in rank as a class of workmen and in numbers as constituting the principal membership of the four old Lodges, very probably suggested to

the mind of Desaguliers the advantages that would result from a more distinct separation of the Fellows from the Apprentices. This distinction not to be made by a recognition of the higher rank of the former as workmen, because if a Speculative system was to be established, a qualification derived from skill in the practical labors of the Craft would cease to be of avail; but a separation by granting to each class a peculiar form of initiation with its accompanying secrets.

We note the fact, also, that in some of the old manuscripts, which were then called the "Gothic Constitutions," copies of which had been produced as the result of the call of Grand Master Payne, there were two distinct sets of "Charges," one for the Masters and Fellows and one for the Apprentices. This circumstance would have strengthened the notion that there should be a positive and distinct separation of the two classes as the first and the preparatory step toward the development of the new system.

This move was doubtless made at the suggestion of Desaguliers soon after his installation as Grand Master. Accordingly, in 1719, there was modified the one form (perhaps we may not unfairly call it a degree) of initiation or admission which had been up to that time common to all ranks of Craftsmen.

One part of the degree (we may admit the word is not precisely correct) he and his associates confined to the Apprentices, and made it the working degree of the Lodge. Another part they enlarged and improved, transferred to it the most important secret, the MASON WORD, and made it a degree to be conferred only on Fellow Crafts in the Grand Lodge; while the degree of the Apprentices thus modified continued as of old to be conferred on new candidates in the Lodge.

Thus it was that in the year 1719, the first alteration in the old Operative system took place, and two distinct ceremonies, the First and Second, were created.

The Entered Apprentice now ceased to be a youth bound for a certain number of years to a Master for the purpose of learning the mysteries of the trade. The term henceforth denoted one who had been initiated into the secrets of the First degree of Speculative Freemasonry, a meaning which it has ever since retained.

In former times, under the purely Operative system, the Masters of the Work, those appointed to rule over the traveling Lodges and to superintend the Craftsmen in their hours of labor, were necessarily selected from the Fellows. They were chosen because of their greater skill, acquired from experience, and their freedom from servitude.

When the Theoretic Freemasons, the Honorary members, began to be the party in control, in consequence of their increased numbers, their higher social position, and their superior education, it was plainly seen that any claim to privileges which was derived from greater skill in the practical art of building, from the expiration of indentures and contracts of service and from the acquisition of independence and the right to go and come at will, would soon be abolished.

Only the Operative members could maintain a distinction amongst themselves founded on such claims. The Theoretic members were, so far as regarded skill in building or freedom from the servitude of indentures or binding contracts of personal service, on an equal footing, every one with all the others.

Desaguliers and his co-workers were anxious to retain as many as they could of the old customs of the Craft. They were not prepared or willing to wipe out all marks of identity between the old and the new system. Nor could they afford, in the infancy of their enterprise, to excite the opposition of the Operative members by an open attack on the ancient practices of the Craft.

Therefore they determined to retain the distinction which had always existed between Fellows and Apprentices. However, they decided to found that distinction, not on the possession of superior skill in the art of building, but in the possession of peculiar secrets.

The Second degree having been thus established, it became necessary to secure the privileges of the Fellows. These in the old system had belonged to them by use and the natural workings of the trade. They were now to be approved and continuously maintained in the new system by positive law.

Accordingly, in the following year, Payne made that compilation or code of laws for the government of the new society which is known as the "General Regulations." These laws hav-

ing been approved by the Grand Lodge, were by Dr. James Anderson, in 1723, inserted in the *Book of Constitutions*.¹

We have already abundantly shown that the whole tenor of these "Regulations" was to give the Fellow-Crafts the possession of the highest degree then known, and to make them the sole legislators of the society (except in the alteration of the "Regulations") and the body from which its officers were to be chosen.

Thus the first step in the separation of Speculative from Operative Freemasonry was accomplished by the use of two degrees of initiation instead of one, and by making the Fellow-Crafts distinct from and superior to the Apprentices. This was not by a higher skill in an Operative art, but by their attainment to greater knowledge in a Speculative science.

For four years this new system prevailed, and Speculative Freemasonry in England was divided into two degrees. The system, in fact, existed up to the very day of the final approval, in January, 1723, of the *Book of Constitutions*.

The First degree was appropriated to the initiation of candidates in the particular bodies, or as we now call them the subordinate Lodges.

The Second degree conferred in the Grand Lodge was given to those few who felt the aspiration for higher knowledge, or who had been elected as Masters of Lodges or as officers in the Grand Lodge.

The Operative members submitted to the change. They continued to take an interest in the new society, receiving in proportion to their numbers a fair share of the offices in the Grand Lodge.

But the progress of change and innovation was not to cease at this point. The inventive genius of Desaguliers and his co-workers was not at rest. Urged onward, not only by their ritualistic taste and their desire to elevate the institution into a higher plane than would result by the force of surrounding circumstances, they contemplated a further advance.

"Circumstances," says Goethe, in his *Wilhelm Meister*, "move backward and forward before us and ceaselessly finish the web, which we ourselves have in part spun and put upon the loom."

¹ At the time when Dr. Anderson did this final arranging and publishing of the "General Regulations" it is of much interest to note that Bro. Payne was Master of the then No. 4 Lodge that is today the Royal Somerset House and Inverness Lodge of London. He was Grand Warden in 1724-1725 and as late as June 27, 1754, was appointed on the Committee to revise the Constitutions brought out by Bro. the Rev. John Entick in 1756.

Desaguliers, with the co-operation of other Theoretic Free-masons, had united the four Operative Lodges into a Grand Lodge, a body until then unknown to the Craft. They had established a form of government with which they were equally unfamiliar. They had abolished the old degree, and invented two new ones. Even at that it appears that these brethren did not consider the system perfect.

They contemplated a further development of the ritual by the addition of another degree. In this design they were probably to some extent controlled by surrounding circumstances.

The Fellow-Crafts had been invested with important privileges not granted to the Entered Apprentices. The possession of these ritualistic and official opportunities was accompanied by the gain of a higher esoteric knowledge.

Among the privileges which had been acquired by the Fellow-Crafts were those of election to office in the Grand Lodge and of Mastership in a subordinate Lodge.

We may conclude it is not unreasonable to suppose that the Fellows who had been elevated to these positions in consequence of their possession of a new degree were desirous, especially the Master of the Lodges, to be further distinguished from both the Apprentices and the Fellow-Crafts by the gain of a still higher grade.

Besides this motive, the existence of which, though not attested by any positive authority, is nevertheless very presumable, another and a more philosophic one must have actuated Desaguliers and his co-workers in the further development of their system of degrees.

They had seen that the old Operative Craft was divided into three classes or ranks of workmen. To the first and second of these classes they had set apart a degree peculiar to each. But the third and highest class was still without one. Thus was his system without harmony among its parts and incomplete.

To give the system of ritualism fullness and perfection it was necessary that a Third degree should be worked out and this to be the property of the third class, or the Masters.

We deem it not impossible that Desaguliers and his associates had in their original plans contemplated the arrangement of three degrees. Of course it may have been that the willing acceptance

of the First and Second by the Craft had suggested the need of a Third degree.

Be this as it may, for it is all a matter of mere surmise and not of great importance, it is very certain that the planning and the actual preparation of the ritual of so philosophic a degree could not have been the labor of a day or a week or any brief period of time.

We are of opinion that it involved much thought. Months must have been occupied in the mental labor of completing it. The ritual could not have been finished before the close of the year 1722. If it had, it would have been presented to the Grand Lodge before the final approval of the *Book of Constitutions*. In that case it would then have received that prominent place in Speculative Freemasonry which in that book and in the "General Regulations" is assigned to the degree of Fellow-Craft.

At that time the degree was so far completed as to make it certain that it would be ready for presentation to the Grand Lodge and to the Craft in the course of the following year.

But it seems to us that as the *Book of Constitutions* was finally approved in January, 1723, and immediately afterward printed and published, Desaguliers and his able associates would naturally be desirous of keeping the new degree under their own control for a brief period, until its ritual should be well understood and properly worked. Therefore it is very likely they anticipated the enactment of a law on the subject, and thus there came about the insertion of a passage in the "General Regulations" which required the Second and Third degrees to be conferred in the Grand Lodge only.

Logical inferences and the evidence of documents bring us unavoidably to the conclusion that the following was the order of events which led to the arrangement and introduction of the present ritual of three degrees:

In 1717 the Grand Lodge, at its organization, received the one comprehensive ceremony or ritual which had been common to all classes of the Operative Freemasons. We may call this ceremony a degree. This they continued to use, with no material change in the operation that is known to us, for the space of two years.

In 1719 the ritual of this degree was broken up and divided into two parts. One part was given to the Entered Apprentices; the other, with some additions, to the Fellow-Craft.

From that time until the year 1723 the system of Speculative Freemasonry, which was practiced by the Grand Lodge, consisted of two degrees. That of Fellow-Craft was deemed the apex of Freemasonry, and there was nothing esoteric beyond it.

On this system of two degrees the *Book of Constitutions*, the "General Regulations," and the "Manner of Constituting a New Lodge" were framed. When these were published the Craft knew nothing of a Third degree.

During the year 1723 Dr. Desaguliers and his brethren perfected the system and presented the Grand Lodge with the Third degree, which they had recently worked up into a satisfactory condition.

This arrangement of the ceremony was accepted by the Grand Lodge, and being introduced into the ritual, from that time forth Ancient Craft Freemasonry, as it has frequently since then been called, has consisted of these three degrees.¹

There can be little doubt that this radical change from the old system was not pleasing to the purely Operative Freemasons who were members of the Grand Lodge. Innovation and change are from of old distasteful to the Masonic mind. Then, as now, alterations in the ritual and the introduction of new degrees must have met with much opposition from those who were attached traditionally to former customs and were unwilling to abandon the old paths.

From 1717 to 1722 we find by Anderson's records that the Operative Freemasons must have taken an active part in the transactions of the Grand Lodge, for during that period they received a fair proportion of the offices. No one of them, however, had been elected to the chief post of Grand Master, which was always bestowed upon a Speculative member.

But from the year 1723, when, as it has been shown, the Speculative system had been perfected, we lose all sight of the Operative Freemasons in any further proceedings of the Society. It is impossible to determine whether this was the result of their voluntary withdrawal or whether the Speculative Freemasons no longer desired their coöperation. But the evidence is ample that from the year 1723 Speculative Freemasonry has

¹ The division of the Third degree, which is said to have later taken place to form a fourth degree, has nothing to do with this discussion.

become the governing and indeed the only feature of the Grand Lodge.

Bro. Robert Freke Gould has written an elaborate sketch of the history of those times. On this point Bro. Gould makes the following remark, a statement which sustains the present views we have ventured to advance:

"In 1723, however, a struggle for supremacy, between the Operatives and the Speculatives, had set in, and the former, from that time, could justly complain of their total supersession in the offices of the Society."¹

Thus it is, then, in the year 1723 that we must place the birth of Speculative Freemasonry. Operative Masonry, the mere crude art of building, that which was practiced by the "Rough Layers" of England and the wall builders or *Maurer* of Germany, still remains and will always remain as one of the useful arts.

Operative Freemasonry, the descendant and the representative of the mediæval Gilds, ceased then and forever to exist. But though dead the impress of its signature was left in the implements of the Craft. These were preserved in the new system, but applied to spiritual uses. The technical terms of the building art gave rise to a symbolic language. These and other ineffaceable memorials show that the later association of Speculative Freemasonry has been erected on the foundations laid down for all time by a purely Operative Society.

¹ "History of the Four Old Lodges," p. 34.

CHAPTER EIGHTY-TWO

INTRODUCTION OF SPECULATIVE FREEMASONRY TO FRANCE



E have seen Speculative Freemasonry firmly established in London and the neighborhood of that city (for it did not immediately extend into the other parts of England). It will now be proper to direct our attention to the progress of the Craft in other countries, and in the first place into the neighboring kingdom of France.

Unauthenticated and unconfirmed statements of some students of Freemasonry, until a very recent period, had thrown a cloud of uncertainty over the early history of the Fraternity in France, which hid from sight the true date of its introduction into that country.

Moreover, the accounts of the origin of Freemasonry in France made by various writers are of so conflicting a nature that it is utterly impossible to reconcile them with historical accuracy. The web of confusion thus constructed has been only recently disentangled by the efforts of some English writers, a leader among whom was Bro. William James Hughan.

Before proceeding to avail ourselves of the result of these inquiries into the time of the constitution of the first Lodge in France, it will be interesting to present the views of several authors who had previously written on the subject.

A pamphlet in the year 1745, claiming to be an exposition of Freemasonry, was published in Paris, entitled *Le Sceau Rompu, ou la Loge ouverte aux profanes* (The Broken Seal, or the Lodge Disclosed to Outsiders). In this work it is stated that the earliest introduction of Freemasonry to France is to be traced to 1718. This work, however, is of no authority, and it is only quoted to show the recklessness with which statements about Masonic history are too frequently made.

The Abbé Robin, a founder and active member of the French Lodge of the Nine Sisters (the Muses), who in 1776 published his *Researches on the Ancient and Modern Initiations*,¹ says that at the time of his writing the book no memorial of the origin of Freemasonry in France remained, and that all that has been found does not go farther back than the year 1720, when it seems to have come from England. But of the date thus mentioned he gives no authentic evidence. It is with him but a surmise.

Thory, in 1815, in his *Acta Latomorum*, gives the story as follows,² having borrowed it from Lalande,³ the great astronomer, who had previously published it in 1786, in his article on Freemasonry in that immense work, the *Encyclopédie Méthodique*.

"The year 1725 is indicated as the epoch of the introduction of Freemasonry into Paris. Lord Derwentwater, the Chevalier Maskelyne, M. d'Hénquelt, and some other Englishmen, established a Lodge at the house of Hure, the keeper of an ordinary (inn) in the Rue des Boucheries. This Lodge acquired a great reputation, and attracted five or six hundred brethren to Freemasonry in the space of ten years. It worked under the auspices and according to the usages of the Grand Lodge at London.

"It has left no historical monument of its existence, a fact which throws much confusion over the first labors of Freemasonry in Paris."

In Thory's record of the year 1736, he says that "four Lodges then existed at Paris, which united and elected the Earl of Harrouester, who thus succeeded Lord Derwentwater,⁴ whom the brethren had chosen at the epoch of the introduction of Freemasonry into Paris. At this meeting the Chevalier Ramsay acted as Orator."⁵

¹ "Recherches sur les Initiations Anciennes et Modernes," par l'Abbé RXXX. The work, though printed without an author's name, was openly credited to Robin, by the publisher.

² "Acta Latomorum, ou chronologie de l'Histoire de la Franc-Maçonnerie Française et Etrangère" (Successive Events in the History of Freemasonry, French and Foreign), by Claude Antoine Thory, p. 21.

³ Joseph J. L. Lalande, French scientist, born at Bourg, 1732, died 1807. Master of the famous Lodge of the Nine Sisters (the Muses) at Paris of which Benjamin Franklin, John Paul Jones, and the leaders of French arts and the sciences were active members.

⁴ Bro. Robert F. Gould, in his "Concise History of Freemasonry," p. 449, says that Harrouester is apparently a corruption of Derwentwater and if so will render the story a little clearer by removing some of the obscurities which have gathered round its text.

⁵ "Acta Latomorum," p. 51.

T. B. Clavel, in his *Histoire Pittoresque de la Franc-Maçonnerie*,¹ says that according to certain English and German historians, among others Robison and the royal court counsellor Bode, Freemasonry was introduced to France by the Irish followers of King James II., after the English revolution in 1688. The first Lodge was established at the Château de Saint Germain, the residence of the dethroned king, whence the Masonic association was spread out into the rest of the country, also into Germany and Italy.

Clavel, who was by the way an active Freemason, Master of the Lodge Emeth, acknowledges that he does not know on what documentary evidence these writers support this opinion; he does not, however, think it altogether without probability.

Robison, to whom Clavel has referred, says that when King James, with many of his most loyal supporters, had fled into France, "they took Freemasonry with them to the continent, where it was immediately received by the French, and was cultivated with great zeal, and in a manner suited to the tastes and habits of that highly polished people."²

Leaving this wholly doubtful statement without discussion, we proceed to give Clavel's account, which he claims to be historical, of the bringing of Freemasonry from England into France.

The first Lodge, he says, whose establishment in France is historically proved, is the one which the Grand Lodge of England instituted at Dunkirk in the year 1721, under the title of *Amitié et Fraternité*, or Friendship and Fraternity. The second, the name of which has not been preserved, was founded at Paris in 1725 by Lord Derwentwater, the exiled Charles Radcliffe whose brother James was executed for treason in 1716, the Chevalier Maskelyne, Brother d'Hénquely or d'Héguerty, and some other followers of the Pretender.³

This second Lodge met at the house of Hure, an English tavern-keeper or restaurateur in the Rue des Boucheries in the Faubourg Saint Germain. A Brother Gaustand, an English lapidary, about the same time created a third Lodge at Paris. A fourth one was established in 1726, under the name of *St. Thomas*.

¹ Chapter iii, p. 107.

² "Proofs of a Conspiracy," p. 27.

³ The Pretender claimed the throne of England on account of descent from Margaret Tudor, Queen of James IV., and her son.

The Grand Lodge of England constituted two others in 1729; the name of the first was *Au Louis d'Argent*, and a brother Lebreton was its Master; the other was called *A Sainte Marguerite*; of this Lodge we know nothing but its name, which was reported in the Registry of the year 1765. Finally there was a fourth Lodge formed in Paris in the year 1732, at the house of Laudelle, a tavern-keeper in the Rue de Bussy. At first it took its name from that of the street in which it was situated, afterwards it was called the Lodge *d'Aumont*, because the Duke of Aumont had been initiated in it.¹

Ragon in his *Orthodoxie Maçonnique*, asserts that Freemasonry made its first appearance in France in 1721, when on October 13th the Lodge *l'Amitié et Fraternité* was instituted at Dunkirk. It appeared in Paris in 1725; in Bordeaux in 1732, by the establishment of the Lodge *l'Anolaise* No. 204; and on January 1, 1732, the Lodge of *la Parfaite Union* (Perfect Union) was instituted at Valenciennes.²

Two other French authorities, not Masonic, however, have given similar but briefer statements.

The *Dictionnaire de la Conversation et de la Lecture* (Dictionary of Conversation and Reading) says that Freemasonry was brought into France in 1720 by Lord Derwentwater and the English. The Grand Masters who succeeded him were Lord d'Arnold-Esler and the Duc d'Autin, the Comte de Clermont-Tonnerre and the Duc d'Orleans. In 1736 there were still only four Lodges in Paris; in 1742 there were twenty-two, and two hundred in the provinces.³

Larousse, in his *Grand Universal Dictionary of the Nineteenth Century*,⁴ merely repeats this statement as to dates, simply stating that the first Lodge in France was founded at Dunkirk in 1721, and the second at Paris in 1725, by Lord Derwentwater.

Rebold has written, in his *Histoire des Trois Grandes Loges* (History of Three Grand Lodges), a more detailed statement

¹ A review of the Report made in 1838 and 1839 to the Grand Orient of France by a Committee, which is contained in the French journal *La Globe* (tome I, p. 324), states that "cette loge fut régulièrement constituée par la Grande Loge d'Angleterre, le 7 Mai, 1729, sous le titre distinctif de Saint-Thomas au Louis d'Argent (that Lodge was regularly constituted by the Grand Lodge of England, May 7, 1729, under the distinctive title of St. Thomas au Louis d'Argent)."

² "Orthodoxie Maçonnique," p. 35.

³ "Dictionnaire de la Conversation," article Franc-Maçonnerie, vol. xxviii, p. 136.

⁴ "Grand Dictionnaire Universal du XIXme Siècle," by Pierre Larousse. Paris, 1872.

of the events connected with the introduction of Freemasonry to France. His narrative is as follows:

"It was not until 1725 that a Lodge was for the first time founded at Paris by Lord Derwentwater and two other Englishmen, under the title of *St. Thomas*. It was constituted by them in the name of the Grand Lodge of London, on the 12th of June, 1720. Its members, to the number of five or six hundred, met at the house of Hure, a tavern-keeper in the Rue des Boucheries Saint Germain. Through the exertions of the same English gentlemen a second Lodge was established on the 7th of June, 1729, under the name of *Louis d'Argent*. Its members met at the tavern of the same name, kept by one Lebreton. On the 11th of December of the same year a third Lodge was instituted, under the title of *Arts Sainte Marguerite*. Its meetings were held at the house of an Englishman named Gaustand. Finally, on the 29th of November, 1732, a fourth Lodge was founded, which was called *Buci*,¹ from the name of the tavern in which it held its meetings, which was situated in the Rue de Buci, and was kept by one Laudelle. This Lodge, after having initiated the Duke d'Aumont, took the name of the Lodge *d'Aumont*.

"Lord Derwentwater, who, in 1725, had received from the Grand Lodge of London full official powers to constitute Lodges in France, was, in 1735, invested by the same Grand Lodge with the functions of Provincial Grand Master. When he left France (in 1745) to return to England, where he soon after perished on the scaffold, a victim to his attachment for the house of Stuart, he transferred the full Masonic authority which he possessed to his friend Lord Harnouester, who was empowered to represent him as Provincial Grand Master during his absence.

"The four Lodges then existing at Paris resolved to found a Provisional Grand Lodge of England, to which the Lodges to be thereafter constituted in France might directly address themselves as the representative of the Grand Lodge at London. This resolution was put into effect after the departure of Lord Derwentwater. This Grand Lodge was regularly and legally constituted in 1736 under the Grand Mastership of Lord Harnouester."²

¹ This is evidently a mistake of the author Rebold for Bussy.

² "Histoire des Trois Grandes Loges," by Emmanuel Rebold, p. 44.

Such is the story of the introduction of Speculative Freemasonry into France, which, first published by the astronomer La Lande, has been since repeated and believed by all French Masonic historians. That a part of this story is true may reasonably be accepted without doubt; but it is equally probable that a portion of it is less certain. It will be a task of some difficulty, but an absolutely necessary one, to unravel the tangled web and to do what may be practicable to clearly distinguish and separate what is true from what is false.

The names of three of the four founders of the first Lodge in Paris present a hitherto impassable obstacle in the way of any sure identity of them with historical persons of that period. The unfortunate tendency of French writers and printers to distort English names in spelling them, makes it impossible to trace the names of Lord Harnouester and M. Hugetty to any probable source. Bro. Mackey and many later students have made the most diligent researches on the subject, and have been unable to find either of them in any works relating to the events of the beginning of the 18th century, which have been within reach.

Lord Derwent-Waters, as the title is often printed, was undoubtedly Charles Radcliffe, the brother of James, the third Earl of Derwentwater, who had been beheaded in 1715 for his connection with the rebellion in that year, excited by the Old Pretender or as he styled himself, James III. Charles Radcliffe had also been convicted of taking part in the rebellion and sentenced to be beheaded. He, however, made his escape and fled to the continent. At first he went to Rome, where the Pretender then held his court, but afterwards removed to France, where he married the widow of Lord Newburghe and remained in that city until the year 1733. He then went for a short time to England, where he appeared openly, but afterwards returned to Paris and remained there until 1745. In that year the Young Pretender landed in Scotland and invaded England in the attempt, as Regent, to recover the throne of his ancestors and to place his father upon it.

Charles Radcliffe, who had assumed the title of the Earl of Derwentwater on the death of his nephew, who died in 1731, sailed on November 21, 1745, for Montrose in Scotland, in the French privateer *Soleil*, for the purpose of joining the Pretender.

He was accompanied by a large number of Irish, Scotch, and French officers and men. On the passage the privateer was captured by the English ship-of-war *Sheerness*, and carried, with its crew and passengers, to England.

On December 8 in the following year Radcliffe was beheaded, as the result of his former sentence, which had been suspended for thirty years.

Of Lord Harnouester, who is said by the French writers to have succeeded the titular Earl of Derwentwater as the second Grand Master, we have been unable to find a trace in any of the genealogical, heraldic, or historical works which we have consulted. The name is very likely spelled wrong, and might have been Arnester, Harnester, or Harnevester. The change made by the *Dictionnaire de la Conversation*, which converts it into "d'Arnold-Esler," only adds more confusion to that which was abundantly confounded. The guess of Bro. Gould, already mentioned, is likely enough.

Maskelyne is an English name. It was that of a family in Wiltshire, from which Nevil Maskelyne, the distinguished Astronomer Royal, born in 1734, was descended. But we are unable to identify the Chevalier Maskelyne, of the French writers, with any person of distinction or of notoriety at that period.

We are equally at a loss as to M. Hugetty, a name which has been variously spelled as Heguetty, Heguelly, etc. The name does not, in any of these forms, indicate the nationality of the owner, and the mixing up that the spelling has received is probably so far away from the original as to leave little or no hope of a successful investigation.

One fact alone appears to be certain, and fortunately that is of some importance in determining the truth of the history so far as it goes. The titular Earl of Derwentwater was a Jacobite, devoted to the interests of the fallen family of Stuart. The English, Irish, and Scotch residents of Paris, with whom he was on terms of intimacy, must have been Jacobites and supporters of the Stuarts also. The acute political jealousy of the British Government at that time made it unpleasantly suspicious if not actually dangerous for any loyal subject to maintain intimate relations with the Jacobites who were living in exile at Paris and elsewhere.

This evident feature of the situation will be an important element in determining the state and strength of the authority claimed to have been given to Lord Derwentwater by the Grand Lodge at London.

German historians have generally borrowed their authority from the French writers, and on this occasion have not shown their usual thoroughness and care in the investigation.

Lenning simply states that the first Lodge of France was founded at Paris in 1725, and that it was soon followed by others.¹

Gadicke had previously said that Freemasonry was brought into France from England and Scotland in the year 1660, but while it flourished in England it soon almost entirely disappeared in France. Afterwards, in the year 1725, England again planted it in France, for in that year three Englishmen founded a Lodge in Paris which was called the English Grand Lodge of France.²

Findel is a little more particular in his details, but affords us nothing new. He says that "it is impossible to determine with any certainty the period of the introduction of Freemasonry to France, as the accounts handed down to us are very contradictory, varying from the years 1721, 1725, 1727, to 1732. In a historical notice of the Grand Lodge of France, addressed to her subordinate Lodges, there is a statement specifying that Lord Derwentwater, Squire Maskelyne, a lord of Heguerty and some other English noblemen, established a Lodge in Paris in 1725, at Hure's Tavern. Lord Derwentwater is supposed to have been the first who received a Warrant from the Grand Lodge of England. It is recorded that other Lodges were established by these same authorities, and amongst others the Lodge *d'Aumont (au Louis d'Argent)* in 1729, in la Rue Bussy at Laudelle's tavern, the documents bearing the date of 1732 as that of their foundation."³

Kloss has written a special work on the history of Freemasonry in France, supported as he says by reliable documents.⁴ This able writer adopts the statements made originally by Lalande in

¹ "Eneyclopädie der Freimaurerei."

² "Freimaurer-Lexicon."

³ "Geschichte der Freimaurerei," Lyon's Translation, p. 200.

⁴ "Geschichte der Freimaurerei in Frankreich, aus achten Urkunden dargestellt," von Georg Kloss. Darmstadt, 1852.

the *Encyclopédie Méthodique*, and which were repeated by successive French authors in dealing with the subject.

On the whole, we get nothing more from the German historians than what we already had from the French.

We come next to the English writers, whose information must have been better than that of either the French or German, as they possessed a written history of the relative events of that period. Therefore it is that on them we are compelled to lean in any attempt to solve the riddle involved in the introduction of the Speculative Institution into the neighboring kingdom. Still we are not to receive as facts all that has been said on this subject by the earlier English writers on Freemasonry. Their wonted lack of care here, as well as elsewhere in respect to dates and authorities, leaves us, at last, to depend for a great part on rational surmise and logical inferences.

Dr. Oliver, a more recent author to whom we shall refer, accepts the French narrative of the institution of a Lodge at Paris in 1725. He adds that it existed "under the sanction of the Grand Lodge of England by virtue of a charter granted to Lord Derwentwater, Maskelyne, Higuety and some other Englishmen."¹

Elsewhere he asserts that the Freemasonry which was practiced in France between 1700 and 1725 was only by some English residents, without a charter or any formal warrant.² In this opinion he is sustained by the Committee of the Grand Orient already mentioned by us. This report states that "most impartial historians assert that from 1720 to 1725 Freemasonry was clandestinely introduced into France by some English Masons."

The author of an article in the London *Freemasons' Quarterly Review*,³ under the title of "Freemasonry in Europe During the Past Century," says that "the settlement in France of the abdicated king of England, James II., in the Jesuitical Convent of Clermont, seems to have been the introduction of Freemasonry into Paris, and here it was (as far as we can trace) the first Lodge in France was formed in the year 1725." The writer evidently connects in his mind the establishment of Freemasonry in France with the Jacobites or party of the Pretender who were then in exile

¹ "Historical Landmarks," vol. ii, p. 32.

² "Origin of the Royal Arch," p. 27.

³ New Series, for the year 1844, p. 156.

in that kingdom, a supposed connection which is worth our consideration.

Laurie (Bro. Mackey prefers to say Sir David Brewster, as having written the book for him) has, in his *History of Freemasonry*, when referring to this subject, indulged in that spirit of romantic speculation which distinguishes the earlier portion of the work and makes it an admixture of history and fable.

He makes no allusion to the events of the year 1725, or to the Lodge said to have been created by the titular Earl of Derwentwater. But he thinks "it is almost certain that the French borrowed from the Scots the idea of their Masonic tribunal, as well as Freemasonry itself."¹ The time of its introduction to France is placed by him at "about the middle of the 16th century, during the minority of Queen Mary."²

After all that has hitherto been said about the origin of Speculative Freemasonry, it will not be necessary to waste time in the attack upon this unsound theory or of the faulty argument by which the author sought to support it. It is enough to say that the author entirely confounds Operative and Speculative Freemasonry. He supposes that the French soldiers who were sent to the assistance of Scotland were initiated into the Scotch Lodges of Operative Freemasons, and then brought the system back with them to France.

Preston passes the subject with but few words. He says that in 1732 Lord Montagu, who was then Grand Master, "granted a deputation for constituting a Lodge at Valenciennes in French Flanders, and another for opening a new Lodge at the Hôtel de Bussy, in Paris."³

That word "new" might be supposed to be an intimation that there was already an older Lodge in Paris. But Preston nowhere makes any reference to the Derwentwater Lodge of 1725, or to any other, except this of 1732. From this generally reliable author we learn nothing more of the origin of Freemasonry in France.

Now we may examine an earlier class of authorities, which, however, consists only of Dr. Anderson and the current records of the Grand Lodge at London.

¹ "History of Freemasonry," p. 110.

² "History of Freemasonry," p. 109.

³ "Illustrations," Jones's edition, p. 212.

Dr. Anderson published in 1738 the second edition of the *Book of Constitutions*. The body of the work contains a record, frequently very brief, of the proceedings of the Grand Lodge from 1717 to June, 1738. But there is no mention by Dr. Anderson of the constitution of a Lodge at Paris, or in any other part of France.

A "List of the Lodges in and about London and Westminster," is a part of the work.¹ He therein records that there was a "French Lodge," which met at the "Swan Tavern" in Long Acre, and which received its warrant June 12, 1723. In the list its number is 18.

This fact is only important as showing that Frenchmen were at that early period taking an interest in the new society. The reference may or may not be connected with the appearance, not long afterwards, of a Lodge at Paris.

The list of "Deputations sent beyond Sea"² records that in 1732 Viscount Montagu, Grand Master, granted a Deputation for constituting a Lodge at Valenciennes, in France. We also learn that he gave another Deputation, or rather Dispensation, for instituting a Lodge at the Hôtel de Bussy at Paris.

According to the same authority, Lord Weymouth, Grand Master in 1735, granted a Deputation to the Duke of Richmond "to hold a Lodge at his castle d'Aubigny, in France."³ He adds, referring to these and to other Lodges instituted in various countries, that "all these foreign Lodges are under the patronage of our Grand Master of England."⁴

Here we have in these references all that Anderson says about the introduction of Freemasonry into France. It will be remarked that he makes no mention of a Lodge constituted at Dunkirk in 1721, nor of the Lodge in Paris instituted in 1725. His silence is significant.

Entick, who succeeded Anderson as editor of the *Book of Constitutions*, the third edition of which he published in 1756, says no more than his predecessor, of Freemasonry in France. In fact, he says less, for in his lists of "Deputations for Provincial Grand Masters,"⁵ he omits those that were granted by Lords Montagu and Weymouth.

¹ "Constitutions," 2d edition, p. 186.

² "Constitutions," 2d edition, p. 194.

³ "Constitutions," 2d edition, p. 195.

⁴ "Constitutions," 2d edition, p. 196.

⁵ "Constitutions," by Entick, p. 333.

But in a "List of Regular Lodges, according to their Seniority and Constitution, by order of the Grand Master,"¹ he inserts the mention of a Lodge held at La Ville de Tonnerre, Rue des Boucheries, at Paris, constituted April 3, 1732, another at Valenciennes, in French Flanders, constituted in 1733, and a third at the Castle of Aubigny in France, constituted August 12, 1735. He thus confirms what Anderson had previously stated. However, like him, Entick is silent in respect to the Dunkirk Lodge of 1721, or that of Paris in 1725.

Noorthouck edited the fourth edition of the *Constitutions*. He appears to have been as ill informed as his predecessors of the existence of any Lodge in France before the year 1732. From him, however, we gather two facts. The first of these is that in the year 1768 letters were received from the Grand Lodge of France expressing a desire to open a correspondence with the Grand Lodge of England. The suggestion was accepted, and a *Book of Constitutions*, a list of Lodges, and a form of Deputation were presented to the Grand Lodge of France.

The second fact is somewhat curious. Notwithstanding the recognized existence of a Grand Lodge of France it seems that in that very year there were Lodges in that country which the Grand Lodge of England claimed as constituents, owing it their allegiance. So much is evident for Noorthouck tells us that in 1768 two Lodges in France, "having ceased to meet or neglected to conform to the laws of this Society, were erased out of the list."

Probably these two bodies of Freemasons were among the Lodges which, in former times, had been created in France by the Grand Lodge of England. We may easily surmise that they had transferred their allegiance to the Grand Lodge of their own country, but had omitted to give due notice of the act to the Grand Lodge of England which had originally created them.

Our next source of information must be the engraved lists of Lodges published, from 1723 to 1778, by authority of the Grand Lodge of England. Their history will be hereafter given. It is enough now to say, that being official documents, and taken for the most part from the Minute Book of the Grand Lodge, they are invested with historical authority.

¹ "Constitutions," by Entick, p. 335. This list bears some likeness to Cole's engraved list for 1756, but the two are not the same.

The earliest of the engraved lists, that for 1723, contains the names¹ of fifty-one Lodges. All of them were placed in London and Westminster. There is no reference in the list to any Lodge in France.

The list for 1725 contains the titles of sixty-four Lodges. The Society was extending in the kingdom, and the cities of Bath, Bristol, Norwich, Chichester, and Chester are recorded as places where Lodges had been constituted. But no Lodge is on record in the list as having been created in France.

In the list of Lodges returned in 1730 (in number they amount to one hundred and two), which is contained in the Minute Book of the Grand Lodge,² a Lodge is recorded as being at Madrid in Spain, the number 50 being attached, and the place of meeting is given as the "French Arms," which would seem almost to imply, but not certainly, that most of its members were Frenchmen.³ Lodge No. 90 is said to be held at the "King's Head, Paris." This is the first mention in any of the lists of a Lodge in Paris. The name of the tavern at which it was held, to say the least, is peculiar for a French city. But as it is said by Bro. Gould to be copied from "the Minute Book of the Grand Lodge," it must be considered as authoritative.

We next find a historical record of the institution of Lodges in France by the Grand Lodge of England in Pine's engraved list for 1734.⁴ Bro. Hughan has said that the first historical constitution of a Lodge at Paris is that referred to in Pine's list of 1734; but the Lodge No. 90 at the "King's Head," recorded as has just been shown in the Grand Lodge list of 1730, seems to have escaped his attention.

Bro. W. J. Hughan informs us that the list quoted by Dr. Mackey, though begun in 1730, was in fact continued for two

¹ At that time Lodges were not known by distinctive names, but by the signs of the taverns at which they met, as the "King's Arms," the "Bull and Gate," etc.

² The list is given in Bro. Gould's "Four Old Lodges," p. 50.

³ This Lodge met on Sunday, a custom still practiced by many French Lodges, though never, as far as we know, by English or American Lodges. Le Cadeur, an old Lodge of French members, in Charleston, S. C., which had its warrant originally from the Grand Orient of France, always met on Sunday, nor did it change that custom after uniting with the Grand Lodge of South Carolina.

⁴ There is a transcript of Pine's list for 1734, copied by Bro. Newton of Bolton from the original owned by Bro. Tunneh, Provincial Grand Secretary of East Lancashire. This transcript was presented by Bro. Newton to Bro. W. J. Hughan, who published it in the *Masonic Magazine* for November, 1876. He also republished it in pamphlet form, and to his kindness we are indebted for a copy. This list had long been missing from the archives of the Grand Lodge.

years later. There is no engraved list preserved of 1733 and, as Bro. Hughan insists, there was no regular Lodge in France until the year he names, that is 1732, when Lodge No. 90 was constituted on April 3 at Paris.

Pine's list for 1734 contains the names of two Lodges in France: No. 90 at the *Louis d'Argent*,¹ in the Rue des Boucheries, at Paris, which was constituted on April 3, 1732, and No. 127 at Valenciennes in French Flanders, the date of whose Warrant of Constitution is not given.

Additional light has been shed by the researches of Bro. Hughan upon these early Lodges of France. He has discovered in the *St. James Evening Post* two references of decided interest and value. The first is of September 7, 1734:

"We hear from Paris that a Lodge of Free and Accepted Masons was lately held there at her grace, the Duchess of Portsmouth's house, where his Grace the Duke of Richmond, assisted by another English nobleman of distinction there, President Montesquieu, Brigadier Churchill, Ed. Yonge, Esq., Register of the most honourable Order of the Bath, and Walter Strickland, Esq., admitted several persons of distinction into that most ancient and honourable society."

Again, in the same journal, but of the following date, September 20, 1735, we note this information:

"They write from Paris that his Grace, the Duke of Richmond and Dr. Desaguliers, formerly Grand Master of the ancient and honourable Society of Free and Accepted Masons, and now authorized by the Grand Master (under his hand and seal and the seal of the Order), having called a Lodge at the Hotel Bussy in the Rue Bussy, his Excellency the Earl of Waldegrave, his Majesty's Ambassador to the French King; the Right Hon. the President Montesquieu, the Marquis de Lomuren, Lord Dursley, son of the Earl of Berkley; the Hon. Mr. Fitz Williams, Messieurs Knight, father and son; Dr. Hickman, and several other persons, both French and English, were present; and the following noblemen and gentlemen were admitted to the Order: namely, His Grace, the Duke of Kingston, the Hon. the Count de

¹ The reader will see that Lodge No. 90 seems to have two quite different addresses, but in reality both refer to the same place. There was a French silver coin having upon it the head of the King, Louis. Thus the inn named as at the sign of the "King's Head" in the English language was the same tavern or hotel as the French "Louis d'Argent" (Louis of Silver).

Florentin, Secretary of State to his most Christian Majesty; the Right Hon. the Lord Chewton, son to Lord Waldegrave; Mr. Pelham, Mr. Armiger, Mr. Colton, and Mr. Clement; after which the new brethren gave a handsome entertainment to all the company."

In Pine's list for 1736 these Lodges, 90 and 127, are again inserted, with a change as to the first, which still numbers as 90 but is said to meet at the "Hotel de Bussy, Rue de Bussy." The sameness of the number and of the date of Constitution identify this Lodge with the one named in the list for 1734, which met at the *Louis d'Argent*, in the Rue des Boucheries.

The list for 1736 contains a third Lodge in France. This is recorded as No. 133, which met at "Castle Aubigny," and was constituted August 22, 1735.

We find in Pine's list for 1740 the three Lodges in France are again recorded as before, one in Paris, one at Valenciennes, and one at Castle d'Aubigny,¹ but the first of them, formerly No. 90, is now said to meet as No. 78, at the *Ville de Tonnerre*, in the same Rue des Boucheries. This was apparently a change of name and number and not of locality. It was the same Lodge that had been first described as meeting as No. 90 at the *Louis d'Argent*.

Benjamin Cole's list for 1756 shows the Lodge's number changed from 78 to 49, but under the same old warrant of April 3, 1732, it continues to meet at "*la Ville de Tonnerre*," in the Rue des Boucheries.

Doubtless it is unnecessary to extend this investigation to later lists or to those to be found in various works which have been mainly copied from the engraved lists of Pine and Cole. Enough has been cited to exhibit clear evidence of certain facts respecting the origin of Speculative Freemasonry in France. This evidence is beyond dispute, because it is derived from and based on the official records of the Grand Lodge of England.

The custom of the Grand Lodge was to issue annually an engraved list of the Lodges under its jurisdiction. The first was printed by Eman Bowen in 1723; afterward the engraver was John Pine, who printed them from 1725 to 1741, and perhaps to 1743, as the lists for that and the preceding year are missing. The

¹ The date of the Constitution of this Lodge in the list for 1736 is August 22. In the present and in later lists the date is August 12. The former date is undoubtedly a printer's error.

list for 1744 was printed by Eman Bowen; from 1745 to 1766 Benjamin Cole was the printer, who was followed by William Cole, until 1788, which is the date of the latest engraved list.

"The engraved lists," says Gould, "were renewed annually, certainly from 1738, and probably from the commencement of the series. Latterly, indeed, frequent editions were issued in a single year, which are not always found to harmonize with one another."¹

The want of harmony consisted principally in the change of numbers and in the omission of Lodges. This arose from the erasures made in consequence of the death of Lodges, or their failure to make returns. It is not to be supposed that in an official document, published by authority and for the information of the Craft, the name of any Lodge would be inserted which did not exist at the time, or which had not existed at some previous time.

Of course we can not reject the authority of these official lists as authoritative documents, and thus cast a slur on the honesty of the Grand Lodge which issued them. Therefore we are equally bound to accept them as giving a truthful statement of the Lodges there were at the time of their publication in France, acting under warrants from the Grand Lodge at London.

Bro. Hughan asserts that the first historical record of the Constitution of a Lodge at Paris is to be referred to the one mentioned in Pine's list for 1734, as having been held at the *Louis d'Argent* in the Rue des Boucheries, and the date of whose Constitution is April 3, 1732.

True, Anderson's first mention of a Deputation or dispensation to constitute a Lodge in Paris is that granted in 1732 by Viscount Montagu as Grand Master. We may quite reasonably presume that there is no earlier record in the Minutes of the Grand Lodge, for if there were any such records within his reach, we are sure that Bro. Hughan would have mentioned them.

But how are we to make this view agree with the fact that in the list of Lodges for 1730 a Lodge is said to be in existence in that year in Paris? This list, as printed by Bro. Gould in his interesting work on the *Four Old Lodges*,² is now lying before us. It is

¹ "Four Old Lodges," p. 16.

² We refer to p. 50. This list also appears in the Quatuor Coronati Lodge reprint of the "Minutes of the Grand Lodge of Freemasons of England," published 1913. See p. 189 for reference to the Lodge, No. 90, at the "King's Head at Paris." The names of members in this instance are omitted.

taken from the earliest Minute Book of the Grand Lodge, and is thus headed, "List of the names of the Members of all the Lodges as they were returned in the year 1730."

Now if this heading were absolutely correct, one could not avoid the inference that there was a "Regular Lodge" in Paris in the year 1730, two years before the Constitution of the Lodge recorded in Pine's list for 1734, for among the Lodges named in this 1730 list is "King's Head at Paris."

For a Parisian hotel, the name is unusual and therefore suspicious. But the list is authentic and authoritative, and the number agrees with that of the Lodge referred to in the 1734 list as meeting at the *Louis d'Argent*, in the Rue des Boucheries.

Indeed, there can be no doubt that the Lodge recorded in the list for 1730 is the same as that recorded in the list for 1734. The number is sufficient to prove that point.

Bro. Gould relieves us from the tangled maze into which this difference of dates had led us. He says of the list, which in his book is No. 11, and which he calls "List of Lodges, 1730-32," that "this List seems to have been continued from 1730 to 1732."

The list comprises 102 Lodges; the Lodge No. 90, at the "King's Head at Paris," is the fifteenth from the end. Accepting the supposition of Bro. Gould, as we may fairly conclude, the reference to No. 90 was inserted in and upon the original list in 1732, after the Lodge at the Rue des Boucheries had been constituted.

Notwithstanding the apparent record that there was a regular Lodge, that is, a Lodge duly warranted by the London Grand Lodge in 1730, it is evident that Bro. Hughan is right in the conclusion at which he has arrived. The first Lodge constituted by the Grand Lodge of England in Paris, was that known as No. 90, and which at the time of its constitution, on April 3, 1732, met at the Tavern called *Louis d'Argent*, in the Rue des Boucheries. Its number was later on changed to 78, and then to 49.

This body of Freemasons, No. 90, and the Lodge at Valenciennes are both omitted from the list for 1770. These were probably the two Lodges in France recorded by Noorthouck as having been erased from the roll of the Grand Lodge of England in 1768. With their erasure passed away all jurisdiction of the English Grand Lodge over any of the Lodges in France. In the same

year it entered into fraternal relations with the Grand Lodge of France. The Lodge at Castle d'Aubigny was also omitted from the list of 1770, and if not erased, had probably voluntarily surrendered its warrant.

Thus we date the legal introduction of Lodges into France at the year 1732. But it does not necessarily follow that Speculative Freemasonry on the English plan had not made its appearance there at an earlier period.

The history of the origin of Freemasonry in France, according to all French historians, from the astronomer Lalande to the most recent writers, is very different from that which it has been contended is the genuine one, according to the English records.

We have shown, in a preceding part of this chapter, that the Abbé Robin said that Freemasonry had been traced in France as far back as 1720, and that it appeared from his point of view to have been brought from England.

Rebold, another Masonic authority, has been more definite in his account. His statement in substance is as follows, and although it has been already quoted we submit it here, for the purpose of comment:

He discusses the change of Freemasonry from a corporation of Operatives to a purely philosophic institution, which took place in London in 1717. Rebold proceeds to say, that the first cities on the Continent to which this amended system had been carried from London were Dunkirk and Mons, both in Flanders, but then forming a part of the kingdom of France. The Lodge at Mons does not seem to have attracted the attention of later writers, but Rebold says of it that "it was constituted by the Grand Lodge of England on June 4, 1721, under the name of *Parfaite (Perfect) Union*. It was, at a later period, erected into the English Grand Lodge of the Austrian Netherlands, and from 1730 constituted Lodges of its own."¹

This narrative must be rejected so far as being unsupported by the English records. There may have been, as we shall presently show, an irregular Lodge at Mons, organized in 1721, but there is no proof that it had any legal connection with the Grand Lodge of England.

¹ See "Histoire des Trois Grandes Loges," p. 48.

Of the Lodge at Dunkirk, Rebold says that it assumed the name of *Amitié et Fraternité* (Friendship and Fraternity), and that in 1756 it was reconstituted by the Grand Lodge of France. We have no more proof of the constitution of this Lodge by the Grand Lodge at London, in 1721, than we have of the constitution of that at Mons. However, the claim has been accepted as a fact by Dr. Oliver and some other English authors.

Rebold, nevertheless, is the only French historian who positively recognizes its existence. He then tells us the story that we have discussed on a preceding page in regard to the foundation of the Lodge of St. Thomas in 1725 at Paris by Lord Derwentwater and two other Englishmen, and of its constitution by the Grand Lodge at London on June 12, 1726.

We are compelled to reject the statement that the Grand Lodge at London had constituted this Lodge in the Rue des Boucheries in 1726. We are inclined to this course because we have sufficient testimony in the records of the Grand Lodge that it was not constituted until 1732. However, we find it equally difficult to deny the combined authority of all the French historians that there was in 1725 a Lodge in the city of Paris, established by Englishmen, who were all apparently Jacobites or warm supporters of the exiled family of Stuart.

Paris at that time was the favorite resort of English subjects who were disloyal to the crowned powers of Hanover, which was then reigning, as they believed, unjustly in their native country.

Clavel tells us that one Hurre or Hure was an English tavern-keeper, and that his tavern was situated in the Rue des Boucheries. It is natural to suppose that this house was the resort of his exiled countrymen. That Charles Radcliffe and his friends were among his guests would be a strong indication that he was also a Jacobite.

Radcliffe, himself, could not have been initiated into the new system of Speculative Freemasonry in London. He had made his escape from England two years before the organization of the Grand Lodge. But there might have been, among the frequenters of Hure's tavern, certain Freemasons who had been Theoretic members of some of the old Operative Lodges, or even taken a share in the organization of the new Speculative system.

There was nothing to prevent these Theoretic Freemasons from opening a Lodge according to the old system, which did not require a Warrant of Constitution. The Grand Lodge which had been organized in 1717 did not claim any jurisdiction beyond London and its precincts, though it was friendly enough to Lodges on foreign soil, and there were at that time and long afterward many Lodges in England which paid no allegiance to the Grand Lodge and continued to work under the old Operative regulations.

It can not be denied that the Grand Lodge which was established in 1717 did not expect to extend its jurisdiction or to enforce its regulations beyond the city of London and its suburbs. This is evident from a statute enacted November 25, 1723, when it was "Agreed, that no new Lodge in or near London, without it be regularly Constituted, be Countenanced by the Grand Lodge nor the Master or Wardens admitted to Grand Lodge."¹

Gould, who quotes this passage, says: "It admits of little doubt, that in its inception, the Grand Lodge of England was intended merely as a governing body for the Masons of the Metropolis."² Even as late as 1735 complaint was made of the existence of irregular Lodges not working by the authority or dispensation of the Grand Master.³

What was there then to prevent the creation of such a Lodge in Paris by English Freemasons who had left their country? A Lodge would not only be, as Anderson has called it, "a safe and pleasant relaxation from intense study or the hurry of business," but it would be to these exiles for a common cause a center of union. Politics and party, which were forbidden topics in an English Lodge at home, would here constitute important factors in the first selection of members.

Probably it was in fact a Lodge of Jacobites. These men paid no respect to Acts of Attainder, the laws against the disloyal to established government. To them Charles Radcliffe, as the heir to the title of Earl of Derwentwater, was a prominent person, and he was perhaps chosen as the head of the new Lodge.⁴

¹ From the Grand Lodge Minutes, *Quatuor Coronati Lodge Reprint*, p. 54.

² "The Four Old Lodges," p. 19.

³ See New Regulations in Anderson, 2d edition, p. 156.

⁴ But this is not saying that Lord Derwentwater was Master of the Lodge in 1725. At that time Lord Derwentwater, the only son of the beheaded Earl, was a youth. On his death in 1731, without issue, his uncle, Charles Radcliffe, as next heir assumed the title, though, of course, his claim was not recognized by the English law.

The tavern in which they met was kept by Hure or Hurre, or some name like it, who, according to the statement of Clavel and others, was an Englishman. His house very naturally became the resort of his countrymen in Paris. As it was also the home of a Jacobite Lodge, it may be safely presumed that Hure was himself a Jacobite. Thus it came to pass that to signify that his hostelry was an English one, he adopted an English sign. To show that he was friendly to the cause of the Stuarts he made that sign the "King's Head," meaning, of course, not the head of George I., who in 1725 was the reigning King of England, but of James III., whom the Jacobites claimed to be the rightful king, and who had been recognized as such by the French people.

Thus it happens that we find, in the engraved list for 1730, the record that Lodge No. 90 was held at the "King's Head at Paris." We may admit that all this is mere inference. But it must be remembered that the carelessness or reticence of our early Masonic historians compels us, in a large number of instances, to infer certain facts which they have not recorded from others which they have set down. If we pursue the true logical method, and show a related and sound connection of the one with the other, our findings will fall very little short of a demonstration.

Thus, we know, from documentary evidence, that in a list of "Regular Lodges" begun in 1730, and apparently continued until 1732, there was a Lodge held in Paris at a tavern whose sign was the "King's Head," and whose number was 90. We know from the same kind of evidence that in 1732 there was a Lodge bearing that number and held in the Rue des Boucheries.

All the French historians tell us that a Lodge was instituted in that street in 1725, at a tavern kept by an Englishman, the founders of which Lodge were Englishmen. The leader we know was a Jacobite. We may fairly conclude that his companions were of the same political faith.

Now we need not accept as true all the incidents connected with this Lodge which are stated by the French writers, such as the statement of Rebord that it was constituted by the Grand Lodge of England in 1726. But unless we are ready to charge all of these historians, from Lalande in 1786 onward to the present day, with falsehood, we are compelled to admit the naked fact, that there was an English Lodge in Paris in 1725. There is no

evidence that this Lodge was at that date or very soon afterward constituted by the Grand Lodge at London. Therefore, we may conclude, as a just inference, that it was established as all Lodges previous to the year 1717 had been established in London, and for many years afterward in other places, by the mere action of its founders. It derived its authority to meet and "make Masons," as did the four primitive Lodges which united in forming the Grand Lodge at London in 1717, from the "immemorial usage" of the Craft.

As to the two Lodges which are said to have been established in 1721 at Dunkirk and at Mons, the French generally concur in the assertion of their existence. Ragon alone, by his silence, seems to refuse or to withhold his assent.

There is, however, nothing of impossibility in the fact, if we suppose that these two Lodges had been formed, like that of Paris, by Freemasons coming from England, who had availed themselves of the ancient privilege, and formed their Lodges without a warrant and according to "immemorial usage." What has been said of the original institution of the Paris Lodge is equally applicable to these two.

A Masonic spirit arose in French Flanders, where both these Lodges were situated, which was not readily extinguished. That sentiment led in 1733 to the constitution by the English Grand Lodge of a Lodge at Valenciennes, a point between the two, in the same part of France, and distant not more than thirty miles from Mons and about double that distance from Dunkirk.

Rebold says that the Lodge at Dunkirk was reconstituted by the Grand Lodge of France in 1756, and he speaks as if he were leaning upon documentary authority. He also asserts that the Lodge at Mons was, in 1730, erected into a Grand Lodge of the South Netherlands. He does not support this statement by any evidence, beyond his own assertion. In the absence of proofs, we need not, when treating of the origin of Freemasonry in France, discuss the organization of a Grand Lodge in another country.

Before closing this discussion, a few words may be necessary respecting the connection of the titular Earl of Derwentwater with the English Lodge. A writer in the *London Freeman* of February 17, 1877, has said, when referring to the statement that the Lodge at Hure's Tavern had received in the year 1726 a War-

rant from the Grand Lodge at London, "of this statement no evidence exists, and owing to the political questions of the day much doubt is thrown upon it, especially as to whether the English Grand Lodge would have given a Warrant to Jacobites and to a person who was not Lord Derwentwater, according to English law."

But there was no political reason in 1726, certainly not in 1732, why a Warrant should not have been granted by the English Grand Lodge for a Lodge in Paris of which a leading Jacobite should be a member or even the head.

Toward Charles Radcliffe, who, when he was quite young had been led into having a part with the rebellion of 1715 by and influence of his elder brother, the Earl of Derwentwater, and who had been sentenced to be beheaded for that act, the government was not without some degree of favor.

Writers upon the question have even suggested that if he had not made his escape from prison, he would have been pardoned. After his retirement to France, he remained at least inactive, married the widow of a loyal English nobleman, and in 1833, two years after he had assumed, when his nephew died without issue, the title of Earl of Derwentwater, he visited London and remained there for some time without interference by the government. Not until 1745 did he lose favor by taking a part in the ill-advised and unsuccessful invasion of England by the Young Pretender. For this blunder, Radcliffe paid the penalty of his life.

The Grand Lodge at London had shelved all questions of party politics or of sectarian religion. Some of its own members are supposed to have secretly been friendly toward the exiled family of Stuarts. There does not seem to be really any serious reason why a Warrant should not have been granted to a Lodge in Paris, though many of its members may have been Jacobites.

We do not, however, believe that a Warrant of Constitution was granted by the Grand Lodge of England to the Lodge at Paris in 1726. Some writers presumably have only mistaken the date, and confounded the year 1726 with the year 1732. Thory tells us that the Lodge has left no historical monument of its existence, and that thus much obscurity has been cast over the earliest labors of Freemasonry in Paris.¹

¹ Thory in the "Acta Latomorum," p. 22.

One more point in this history of early Freemasonry at Paris requires a notice and an explanation.

Rebold says that in the year 1732 there were four Lodges at Paris: 1. The Lodge of *St. Thomas*, founded in 1725 by Lord Derwentwater and held at Hure's Tavern. 2. A Lodge established in May, 1729, by the same Englishmen who had founded the first, and which met at the *Louis d'Argent*, a tavern kept by one Lebreton. 3. A Lodge constituted in December of the same year under the name of *Arts-Sainte Marguerite*.¹ Its meetings were held at the house of one Gaustand, an Englishman. 4. A Lodge established in November, 1732, called *de Buci*, from the name of the tavern kept by one Laudelle in the Rue de Buci. This Lodge afterwards took the name of the Lodge *d'Aumont*, when the Duke of Aumont had been initiated there.

It will not be difficult to reduce these four Lodges to two by the assistance of the English lists. The first Lodge, which was founded by Radcliffe, improperly called Lord Derwentwater, is undoubtedly the same as that mentioned in the 1730 list under the title of No. 90 at the "King's Head." Rebold, Clavel, and other French authorities tell us that it was held in the Rue des Boucheries.

Now the list for 1734 gives us the same No. 90, as designating a Lodge which met in the same street but at the sign of the *Louis d'Argent*. This was in our opinion the same Lodge which had formerly met at the "King's Head." The tavern may have been changed, but Bro. Mackey thought it more likely that the change was only in the sign, made by the new proprietor. Hure, it seems, had given way to Lebreton, who might have been less of a Jacobite than his predecessor, or no Jacobite at all. He might have therefore discarded the head of the king, especially if in his judgment the Jacobites had meant by the sign a reference to James. The first and second references in this list of Rebold's were evidently to be applied to the same Lodge.

The fourth Lodge was held at the *Hôtel de Buci*. Here, again, Rebold seems wrong in his spelling. He should have spelt it Bussy. There was then a Lodge held in the year 1732 at the *Hôtel*

¹ Clavel ("Histoire Pittoresque," p. 108) calls it *A Sainte Marguerite*, which Bro. Mackey deemed was probably the correct name. However, the "Arts" in Rebold may be viewed as a mistake in the writing or printing of the French word for "at the" (au) before the name.

de Bussy. Anderson tells us, in his second edition, that Viscount Montagu granted a Deputation "for Constituting a Lodge at the Hôtel de Bussy in Paris." But the lists for 1732, 1734, 1740, and 1756 give only one Parisian Lodge which was constituted on April 3, 1732. They always assign the same locality in the Rue des Boucheries, but change the number, making, however, the change from 90 to 78, and then to 49, and change also the sign, from the "King's Head" in 1732 to the *Louis d'Argent* in 1734, and to the *Ville de Tonnerre* in 1740 and 1756.

But it is important to remark that while the Engraved List for 1734 says that No. 90 met at the *Louis d'Argent* in the Rue de Boucheries, the list for 1736 says that No. 90 met at the Hôtel de Bussy, in the Rue de Bussy, and each of these lists gives the same date of constitution, namely, April 3, 1732.

We are led, therefore, to believe that the Lodge at the Hôtel de Bussy was the same as the one held first at Hure's Tavern in 1725 as an independent Lodge and which, in 1732, was legally constituted by the Grand Lodge of England, and which afterwards met either at the same tavern with a change of sign or successively at three different taverns.

The first, second, and fourth Lodges mentioned by Rebold, therefore, are resolved into one Lodge, the only one which the English records say was legally constituted by the Deputation granted in 1732 by Lord Montagu.

As to the third Lodge on Rebold's list, which he calls *Arts-Sainte Marguerite*, there is no reference to it, either in the English engraved lists or in the *Book of Constitutions*. We are told that it was founded at the close of the year 1729 and to have held its meetings at the house or tavern of an Englishman named Gaustand.

We can not deny its existence in the face of the positive assertions of French historians. We prefer to believe that it was an offshoot of the Lodge instituted in 1725 at Hure's, that that Lodge had so increased in numbers as to well afford to send off a colony, and that, like its predecessor, the Lodge *Sainte Marguerite* had been formed independently and under the sanction of "immemorial usage."

Hence, we think it is demonstrated that between the years 1725 and 1732 there were but two Lodges in Paris and not four,

as some French writers have asserted. Bro. Hughan is inclined to hold the same opinion, and the writer in the *London Freemason*, who has previously been mentioned, says that it is "just possible." The possibility has grown to more than a probability.

We have thus reconciled the doubts and contradictions which have hitherto given so uncertain a character to the history of the introduction of Speculative Freemasonry into France. We may therefore venture to present the following account as a consistent story of the introduction of the English system of Speculative Freemasonry into France. Divested of every feature of romance and rendered authentic, by official documents of sound character and by strictly logical conclusions, we feel it can not fairly be refuted.

Not very long after the foundation of purely Speculative Freemasonry in London by the separation of the Theoretic Freemasons from their Operative associates and the founding of a Grand Lodge, a similar system was planned for use in the neighboring kingdom of France.

Freemasons came from England, either members of some of the old Operative Lodges or who had taken a part in the organization of the London Grand Lodge. Having passed over into France, they founded in the year 1721 two independent Lodges which adopted the characteristics of the new Speculative system, so far as it had then been completed. But they claimed the right, according to the ancient practice of Operative Freemasons, to form Lodges anywhere at their personal pleasure without the authority of a Warrant of Constitution.

These Lodges were situated respectively at Dunkirk and at Mons, two cities in French Flanders, and which were at that time within the territory of the French Empire.

Four years after, namely, in 1725, a similar Lodge was founded in Paris, at the sign of the "King's Head," a tavern kept in the Rue des Boucheries by an Englishman named Hure or Hurre, or some other name nearly akin to it. French historians inform us that the name of the Lodge was *St. Thomas*; but this name is not to be recognized in any of the English engraved lists. Then and for some time afterwards English Lodges were known only by the name or sign of the tavern where their meetings were held.

But there is no reason for disbelieving the assertion of the French writers. The number and the place of meeting were the only necessary items in showing the identity of the Lodge and only required to be inserted in the Warrant when it was granted. Of the one hundred and twenty-eight Lodges recorded in Pine's list for 1734, not one is otherwise known than by its number and the sign of the tavern. The fact that the Lodge is not marked in the English lists as "the Lodge of *St. Thomas*," is no proof whatever that its founders did not bestow upon it that title.

The founders of this Lodge were Charles Radcliffe, the younger brother of the former Earl of Derwentwater, whose title he six years afterwards assumed, and three other Englishmen, of whose earlier or later history we know nothing, but who are said by the French writers to have been Lord Harnouester, the Chevalier Maskelyne, and Mr. Heguetty.

These men were, it is supposed, Jacobites or the friends, passively at least, of the exiled family of Stuarts, represented at that time by the son of the late James II., and who was known in France and by his followers as James III. From this fact, and from the character of the tavern where they met, which in the opinion of Dr. Mackey was indicated by its sign, but which as we have shown, was even more likely to refer to King Louis than King James, it has been presumed that the Lodge was originally formed as a resort for persons of those peculiar political sentiments.

If so, the Lodge did not long retain that feature in its composition. The institution of Speculative Freemasonry became in Paris, as it had previously become in London, extremely popular. In a short time the Lodge received from French and English residents of Paris a gain of members amounting to several hundreds.

Another independent Lodge was formed in December, 1729, under the name of *Sainte Marguerite*, and held its communications at the tavern of an Englishman named Gaustand. It was probably formed by members of the other Lodge whose number had from the popularity of the institution become unwieldy. Of the later career of this Lodge we have no information. The records do not show that it was ever legally constituted by the Grand Lodge of England.

Lord Montagu, the Grand Master of the Grand Lodge at London, granted a Deputation in 1732, for the constitution of the

original Lodge in Paris, which was then holding its meetings at the Hôtel de Bussy, in the Rue de Bussy (Bussy Street). Accordingly this Lodge was constituted on April 3, 1732. But at the time of the constitution it appears to have returned to the old locality. We find it is recorded in the first part of the lists where it is mentioned as meeting in the Rue des Boucheries (Butchers Street) at the "King's Head Tavern" and in the second list at the *Louis d'Argent*, which, for reasons already explained, we may take to be the same house.

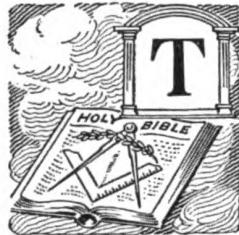
Thus the fact is established that the new system of Speculative Freemasonry was introduced to France from England, but not by authority of the English Grand Lodge, in the year 1721 by the founding of two independent Lodges in French Flanders, and into Paris by the founding of a similar Lodge in 1725.

The Grand Lodge of London extended its jurisdiction in 1732 over the French territory and issued two Deputations, one for the constitution of the Lodge in Paris, and the other for the constitution of a Lodge in French Flanders at the City of Valenciennes.

The former Lodge was constituted in 1732, in the month of April, and the latter in the following year. The further action of the English Grand Lodge in the constitution of other Lodges, and the future history of the institution which resulted in the formation of a Grand Lodge in France, must be reserved for a future chapter.

CHAPTER EIGHTY-THREE

THE GRAND LODGE OF ALL ENGLAND OR GRAND LODGE OF YORK



HE claim, so stoutly maintained by many Freemasons who have not thoroughly investigated the subject, that there was a General Assembly of Freemasons held, and a Grand Lodge established, at the city of York in the year 926, by Prince Edwin, the brother of King Athelstan, is a tradition derived from the old *Legend of the Craft*. As such it has already been freely discussed in the preceding division of this work, and will not be further considered at this time.

The object of the present chapter will be to inquire into the time when, and the circumstances under which, the modern Theoretic Freemasons of York separated from the Operative Gild and, following the example of the pioneers in London, established a purely Speculative Society to which they, too, gave the name of a Grand Lodge.

To distinguish this organization from the Grand Lodge which had been founded eight years before in London, they applied to that body the title of the "Grand Lodge of England," while in a somewhat overbearing spirit they assumed for themselves the more imposing title of the "Grand Lodge of All England," names which were first employed by Dr. Francis Drake in his speech at York in 1726.¹

This difference of titles was suggested by the ecclesiastical customs of the kingdom. Dividing the government of the church

¹There is not the slightest evidence that the Grand Lodge in London ever accepted this distinction of titles, involving as it did an acknowledgment of the higher claims of its rival. Neither Anderson, Entick, nor Noorthouck have used in their successive editions of the "Book of Constitutions" these terms as employed by Bro. Drake. In these editions the body in London is always called simply "the Grand Lodge." Not until 1775 do we meet with a more distinctive name. In the Latin inscription on the cornerstone of the Freemasons' Hall, which was laid in that year, Lord Petre is named the "Summus Latomorum Angliae Magister," or Chief Master of Masons of England, while the Grand Lodge is called "Summus Angliae Conventus," or Chief Assembly of England.

between two Archbishops, the practice was to call the Archbishop of York the "Primate of England," while his brother, the Archbishop of Canterbury, of somewhat more elevated rank and more extensive jurisdiction, is dignified as the "Primate of All England."

Angliae and *totius Angliae* are the distinctions between the two Archbishops, and so, also, they became the distinctions between the two Grand Lodges.

Operative Freemasonry was established with great vigor and maintained with strict discipline at York during the building of the Cathedral in the 14th century. Of this fact we have the clearest evidence in the *Fabric Rolls of York Minster*,¹ which were published several years ago by the "Surtees Society."²

These "Rolls," extending from 1350 to 1639, were made up during the progress of the work. They consist of accounts of contracts at various periods and regulations adopted from time to time for the government of the workmen. A fragment remaining of one of the Rolls, with the date of 1350, records that the working Masons and the Carpenters who at that time were employed on the building were respectively under the control of William de Hoton, as the Master Mason, and Philip de Lincoln as the Master Carpenter. As Bro. Hughan correctly remarks, "Without doubt the Master Mason thus referred to was simply the chief among the Masons, the others being Apprentices and Craftsmen."

One of the Rolls contains a code of rules which had been agreed upon in 1370. It is entitled *Ordinacio Cementariorum*. This is interesting as it shows what was the internal government of the Craft at that period.

These regulations were made by the Chapter of the Church of St. Peter's at York, under whose direction the Minster was being built. They did not come from any General Assembly or Grand Lodge, nor even from a private Lodge, but were derived from the church authority with which in that age Freemasonry was closely connected. Whether these Masons were acquainted

¹ From the Anglo-Saxon "Mynster," the church belonging to the house of a group of monks, and a word also applied to an English Cathedral.

² These Rolls were discovered by John Browne, who based upon them his "History of the Metropolitan Church of St. Peter, York." They were printed at Durham in 1859 by the Surtees Society, and edited by James Raine, Jr., the Secretary of the Society, who enriched the work with valuable notes, an Appendix, and a Glossary.

with the old manuscripts which Anderson called the Gothic Constitutions it is impossible to say. We have no copies of any dating before the end of the 15th century, except the Halliwell or Regius manuscript, and the date of that is supposed to be 1390, twenty years after the adoption of the regulations by the Chapter of the Cathedral for the government of the Freemasons of York.

However, it is almost if not absolutely capable of proof that the Halliwell or Regius manuscript is a copy and a combination of two distinct poems. We think it is therefore not unlikely that the York Masons, as a Gild, were familiar with and even governed by its "points and articles."

The rules preserved in the Fabric Rolls were only intended for the direction of the Freemasons in their hours of labor and of refreshment, and contain no *Legend of the Craft*. A faithful copy of the *Ordinacio Cementariorum*, or Constitution of the Masons, translated into modern and more intelligible English,¹ will be interesting and useful as showing the Gild organization of the Craft at York in the 14th century. This *Ordinacio* runs as follows:

"It is ordained by the Chapter of the Church of Saint Peter of York that all the Masons that shall work in the works of the same Church of Saint Peter shall, from Michaelmas Day to the first Sunday of Lent,² be each day in the morning at their work in the Lodge, which is provided for the Masons at work within the enclosure at the side of the aforesaid church,³ at as early an hour as they can clearly see by daylight to work; and they shall stand there faithfully working at their work all day after, as long as they can clearly see to work, if it be an all work day; otherwise until high noon is struck by the clock, when a holiday falls at noon, except within the aforesaid time between Michaelmas and Lent; and at all other times of the year they may dine before noon if they will, and also eat at noon where they like, so that

¹The earlier Rolls are written in the Low Latin of the Middle Ages. The later ones from 1544 are in the common tongue of the times. The one about to be quoted is in a northern dialect, and is, as Editor Raine observes, remarkable on account of its language as well as its contents.

²Michaelmas Day is celebrated by the Western Church on September 29. St. Michael is mentioned in Dan. x, 13, 21; xii, 1; Rev. xii, 7. Lent is from the Old English "lencten," or "spring," period of fasting before Easter. We see that the intervals, Michaelmas to Lent and Lent to Michaelmas, are about equal, a six months' period.

³This confirms the statement made in the "Parentalia" that the Traveling Freemasons, when about to begin the erection of a religious edifice, built huts, or, as they were called, "Lodges," nearby in which they lived for the sake of economy as well as convenience.

they shall not remain from their work in the aforesaid Lodge, at no time of the year, at dinner time more than so short a time that no reasonable man shall find fault with their remaining away; and in time of eating at noon they shall, at no time of the year, be absent from the Lodges nor from their work aforesaid over the space of an hour; and after noon they may drink in the Lodge, and for their drinking time, between Michaelmas and Lent, they shall not cease nor leave their work beyond the space of time that one can walk half a mile;¹ and from the first Sunday of Lent until Michaelmas they shall be in the aforesaid Lodge at their work at sunrise and remain there truly and carefully working upon the aforesaid work of the church, all day, until there shall be no more space than the time that one can walk a mile, before sunset, if it be a work day, otherwise until the time of noon, as was said before; except that they shall, between the first Sunday of Lent and Michaelmas, dine and eat as beforesaid, after noon in the aforesaid Lodge; nor shall they cease nor leave their work in sleeping time exceeding the time in which one can walk a mile, nor in drinking time after noon beyond the same time.

“And they shall not sleep after noon at any time except between Saint Elenmes and Lammas;² and if any man remain away from the Lodge and from the work aforesaid, or commit offence at any time of the year against this aforesaid ordinance, he shall be punished by an abatement of his wages, upon the inspection and judgment of the Master Mason; and all their times and hours shall be governed by a bell established therefor.

“It is also ordained that no Mason shall be received at work on the work of the aforesaid church unless he be first tried for a week or more as to his good work; and if after this he is found competent for the work, he may be received by the common

¹ A common method at that period of computing time according to the distance walked by a Craftsman at an ordinary rate of pacing. “Way.—The time in which a certain space can be passed over. Two mileway, the time in which two miles could be passed over, etc.” — Halliwell, “Dictionary of Archaic and Provincial Words.”

² “Elenmes” may be read “Elenmas,” “Helenmas” or “Helenamas,” the festival observed by the Latin Church on May 18 (the day of the translation of her relics). St. Helena is mentioned in a mythical story by Geoffrey of Monmouth, v. 6, “Constantius, therefore having made her his partner, had a son by her called Constantine. After eleven years were expired, he died at York (England) and bestowed the Kingdom on his son.” See also p. 165, vol. ix. “Lives of the Saints,” Rev. S. Baring-Gould, 1914. Lammas Day, festival of the Wheat Harvest, August 1, supposed to get the name from the Anglo-Saxon “Hlafmaesse,” or “Loaf mass,” the offering of loaves made from the fresh wheat. Lammas Day is also known as the Feast of St. Peter’s Chains.

assent of the Master and keepers of the work and of the Master Mason, and he must swear upon the book that he will truly and carefully, according to his power, without any kind of guile, treachery, or deceit, maintain and keep holy all the points of this aforesaid ordinance in all things that affect or may affect him, from the time that he is received in the aforesaid work, as long as he shall remain a hired Mason at the work on the aforesaid work of the church of Saint Peter, and that he will not go away from that aforesaid work unless the Masters give him permission to depart from the aforesaid work; and let him whosoever goes against this ordinance and breaks it against the will of the aforesaid Chapter have God's malison (curse) and Saint Peter's."

The above has been freely rewritten by Browne in modern English. An exact copy of the original will be found, p. 181, *Fabric Rolls of York Minster*, vol. 35, publications of the Surtees Society, London, edited by Rev. James Raine, Canon of York. We give here the beginning and concluding lines of the original by way of comparison:

"Itte es ordayned by ye Chapitre of ye kirk of Saint Petyr of York yat all ye masonns yt sall wyrke till ye werkes of ye same kirke of Saynte Petyr. . . . and wha sum evyr cum agayne yis ordinance and brekes itte agayn ye will o ye forsayde Chapitre have he Goddy's malyson and Saynt Petirs."

Editor Raine says in a footnote to the *Ordinacio Cementariorum* that "On the 31st of October, 1370, Master Robert de Patrington, and twelve other Masons, came before the Chapitre, and swore to observe these rules in the following terms: 'Lordes, if it be your wyles (desires), we grant (promise or pledge) to stand at our werkes truly at our power,' etc." See Harleian manuscript, No. 6971.

We learn from this ordinance, and others of the same import contained in these *Fabric Rolls*, that the Craftsmen who wrought at the building of the York Minster in the 14th century were an entirely Operative Gild. They were like the brethren who, at about the same time, were engaged in the construction of the Cathedrals of Cologne and Strasburg.

These references confirm the statement made in Wren's *Paren-talia* that the Lodge was a building near to the edifice they were constructing, and that in it they not only worked, cutting and

otherwise preparing the stones, but also ate and slept there. Over them there was a superintendent of their work who was called the Master Mason.

What were the duties of the *Magister Cementarius* or Master Mason may be learned from an Indenture or contract between the Chapter and William de Hoton in the year 1351, a copy of which will be found at page 166 of the *Fabric Rolls*.

While overlooking other works, which shows that he might have various contracts in hand at the same time, he was not to neglect the building of the Minster. If he became affected with blindness or other incurable disease so that he should be unable to work, he was to employ and pay an assistant — *subcementarius* — who was to be the Second or Deputy Master of the Freemasons — *Magister Secundarius Cementariorum*.

He was to oversee the building and to receive a salary of ten pounds of silver annually, and to be furnished with a dwelling-house within the inclosure of the Minster.¹

But while the Master Mason had the direct supervision of the workmen, there was an officer above him who was called the *Magister Operis*, or Master of the Work. This is shown by another agreement with Robert de Patrington in 1368, wherein it is said that his salary is to be paid to him "by the hands of the Master of the work of our said church" — *per manus Magistri operis dicta ecclesiae nostræ*.

Now, this *Magister Operis*, or Master of the Work, sometimes called the *Operarius*, was not a member of the body of Freemasons, but, according to Ducange, an officer in Monasteries and Chapters of Canons, whose duty it was to have charge over the public works.

When the Minster was finished, the occupation of these Operative Freemasons ceased. But there were other religious edifices in the province on which they were later employed, so that there

¹ From the "Fabric Rolls" the following list of Master Masons, who superintended the work from its beginning to its close, has been obtained by Raine: 1351, William de Hoton and William de Hoton, junior, probably the son of the first; 1368, Robert de Patrington; 1399–1401, Hugh de Hedon; 1415, William Colchester; 1421, John Long; 1438, Thomas Pak; 1442–43, John Bowde; 1445–47, John Barton; 1456, John Porter; 1466, Robert Spylesby; 1472, William Hyndeley; 1505, Christian Horner; 1526, John Forman. In the lists of workmen many names foreign to Yorkshire will be found, and the names of foreigners also occur, such as Begon Baious and James Dum. — Preface to "Fabric Rolls," xx. These alien names of Master Masons do indeed suggest the influence of the work upon the travel of the men in charge from the one country to another.

was a continuous existence of Operative Lodges during the succeeding centuries.

While the Freemasons were working on the York Minster, other Gilds of Freemasons, or, rather, branches of the same Gild, were employed in the construction of cathedrals in various parts of England.

Thus the Cathedral of Canterbury was repaired and greatly enlarged about the year 1174; that of Salisbury started in 1220 and finished in 1266; that of Ely was begun in 1083 and finished in 1534, and Westminster Abbey practically began in 1245, the Lady Chapel being built previously.

If the *Fabric Rolls* of these edifices should hereafter be discovered, ample evidence will doubtless be furnished of the existence of a common Gild of Freemasons everywhere in England. These bodies of Craftsmen would doubtless be in every way similar to that which we now know existed at York during the same period of time, namely from the middle of the 14th to the middle of the 16th century, which is precisely the age of our oldest manuscript Constitutions.

We find the history of Operative Freemasonry at York and in the north of England was about the same as it was in London and in the south of the kingdom. There were times when it flourished, and intervals of weakness when it began to decay.

There was in another respect a similarity in the character of the Gilds of both localities. The York Lodge, like the Lodges of London, and indeed of every other country, at first consisting only of practical workmen, began in time to admit into its association men who were not Craftsmen — men of rank or wealth or influence, who became honorary members. In the course of time these additions to the membership gradually infused a Speculative element into the Lodges.

There is really no historical evidence whatever that during the period in which the Freemasons were occupied in the construction of the Minster there was any other Lodge than that which was connected with the works, and under the control of the Cathedral Chapter. However, it is very likely that from long continuance it had abandoned the nomadic or wandering gypsy character so common with the Traveling Freemasons of the Middle Ages, and had assumed a permanent form, and thus become

the parent of that Lodge which we find existing in 1705 at the city of York.

Anderson asserts that the tradition was "firmly believed by the old English Masons," that on December 27, 1561,¹ Queen Elizabeth sent an armed force to break up the annual Grand Lodge that was then meeting at York.

"But Sir Thomas Sackville, Grand Master," says Anderson, "took care to make some of the chief Men sent Freemasons, who then joining to that communication made a very honorable report to the Queen, and she never more attempted to dislodge or disturb them."

This story has been repeated by Preston and by others after him. All of them give it on the mere authority of Anderson, and as no other evidence has ever been brought forward of its truth, we shall be compelled to reject it as historically unfit for use, suggestive but not fully convincing, and receive it only as Anderson has called it a "tradition." Were it true, it would settle the question whether there was a Grand Lodge at York in active existence in the 16th century.

The "Manifesto" of the Lodge of Antiquity in 1778 asserts that "in the year 1567 the increase of Lodges in the south of England being so great . . . it was resolved that a person under the title of Grand Master for the south, should be appointed with the approbation of the Grand Lodge at York, to whom the whole Fraternity at large were bound to pay tribute and acknowledge subjection."

If this statement were thoroughly reliable it would not only confirm the fact that there was a Grand Lodge of York in the 16th century, but also that it exercised a control over all the Lodges of the kingdom.

Bro. Mackey believed it unfortunate for the interests of history that the "Manifesto" of the Lodge of Antiquity was written for a particular object, which renders it partisan in character and

¹ Bro. Woodford, in an article on "The Connection of York with the History of Freemasonry in England," appended to Bro. Hughan's "Unpublished Records of the Craft" (p. 170), seems to credit the fixing of this date to the author of "Multa Paucis." But the fact is that this date is first mentioned by Dr. Anderson in the 2d edition of the "Book of Constitutions," p. 81. Neither author nor date of publication are given in "The Complete Freemason or Multa Paucis for Lovers of Secrets," containing an account of the Craft to 1763 and therefore supposed to have appeared soon afterwards.

therefore somewhat suspicious in authority. Since there is no other evidence that in 1567 there was a Grand Lodge at York, or that it then appointed a Grand Master for the south of England, Bro. Mackey held that we are forced to dismiss this narrative of the Lodge of Antiquity with the Sackville story to the realm of fable, or at least of unsupported tradition.

The theory of the existence of a Lodge at the city of York at the beginning of the 17th century is founded on the fact that in the year 1777 there was in the possession of the Lodge of York a manuscript Constitution of the date 1630. This document is presumed to have been written at that time for the Lodge in that city.

Such is the implied reasoning of Bro. Woodford. Although not absolutely conclusive, the claim may be accepted as probable, especially as Bro. Hughan tells us that there is evidence that a Lodge existed there in 1643.¹

But the authentic history of that Society of Freemasons which met in the city of York, really begins with the year 1706.²

An Inventory of the Regalia and Documents which were in the possession of the Grand Lodge of All England was taken by a committee in 1779. This report of the committee is still in possession of the Lodge at York. One of the articles is recorded as being "A narrow folio Manuscript Book, beginning 7th March 1705-6, containing sundry Accounts and Minutes relative to the Grand Lodge."

This manuscript is now unfortunately mislaid or lost, but the report of the committee is satisfactory evidence that it once existed. Therefore we have a sufficient proof that there was a Lodge in the year 1706 and very probably long before in the city of York.

A work entitled the *Stream of English Freemasonry*, by Dr. J. P. Bell, has a list of Grand Masters, as the author calls them, from the year 1705. But as Bro. Hughan observes, the presiding officers were always styled Presidents or Masters until 1725, when the

¹ *London Masonic Magazine*, vol. iii, p. 259.

² The date of the commencement of the Minute Book of the old York Lodge is usually quoted as 1705. But in the original the date is "7th March 1705-6." March 7, 1705, of the old style is according to the new style, March 18, 1706. So also, some writers speak of the first meeting of the four Lodges in London as occurring in 1716, because Anderson's date is February, 1716-17. February, 1716-17, means always 1717.

Grand Lodge was organized and the office of Grand Master adopted.

Now, between 1705 or 1706, when we get the first authentic records of the existence of a Lodge of Freemasons in the city of York, until the year 1725, when it assumed the rank and title of a Grand Lodge, the condition of Gild Masonry or Freemasonry appears, so far as we can judge from existing records, to have been in about the same condition as it was in London just before the establishment of a Grand Lodge in that city at nearly the same period, with this difference, that in London there were four Lodges and in York only one.

We know that from a very early period the Gild of Operative Freemasons had existed in independent Lodges established near the cathedrals or other public buildings in the construction of which they were engaged. We have seen this system pursued at the building of the Minster at York. The written Constitutions which governed the Craftsmen then and there are to be found in the *Fabric Rolls* of the Minster which have been published by the Surtees Society.

At that time the Lodges were purely Operative in their character. Later on, as in Scotland and in the south of England, persons of distinction, who were not working Craftsmen, were admitted among the brethren. Thus the system of Theoretic or Honorary Members of the Lodge was established.

The result was the same here as it had been elsewhere. The Operative element gradually yielded to the Speculative. The latter at the beginning of the 18th century had become in York more completely in control than it was in London at the same period.

The manuscript book of Minutes beginning in March, 1706, has been lost. But there is in existence a Roll beginning March 19, 1712, or rather 1713, for it appears that there is the same confusion of styles as to dates. The next Minutes, according to Bro. Hughan, are of June, August, and December, 1713, which clearly shows that the Minutes for March are of the same year, unless we suppose that there was a halt of more than a year in the meetings — a thing not at all likely.

We learn that at the Lodge Communication in March several members were sworn and admitted by Geo. Bowes, Esq., Deputy

President. The Master was at that time a Speculative Freemason. In December, 1713, a "Private Lodge" was held, at which, says Bro. Hughan, "gentlemen were again admitted members, and at which Sir Walter Hawksworth, Knight and Baronet, was the President." A "General Lodge of the Honorable Society and Company of Freemasons," so ran the Minutes, was held on Christmas, 1716, by St. John's Lodge, when John Turner, Esq., was admitted to the Society. These Minutes are signed, "Charles Fairfax, Esq. Dep. Prest."

All these particulars prove that at that time the Freemasons of York knew nothing of a Grand Lodge or a Grand Master, and that there was, even then, much more of the Speculative than of the Operative element in the Society.

From 1713 to 1725 there appears to have been but one Lodge in the city of York. This Masonic body did not, however, assume the title of a Grand Lodge, but in its Minutes is called a "Private Lodge," and on a few occasions a "General Lodge." The presiding officer was called the President, who was assisted by a Deputy President.

There were at that time in the north of England many purely Operative Lodges. These as well as the York Lodge, which was more Speculative than Operative in its character, paid little or no attention to the proceedings of the Speculative Freemasons in London.

They gave no help to the Grand Lodge founded in 1717. They were for a long time opposed to the newly invented system by which Operative Freemasonry was replaced by a purely Speculative organization.

Nevertheless, there were no signs of dissension while they all, in their full belief in the *Legend of the Craft*, credited to the city of York the honor of being the birthplace of English Freemasonry. The Mother Lodge, as it was supposed to be, saw without opposition the organization of the Grand Lodge at London. Neither did it resist the constitution in 1724 by that body of a Lodge at Stockton-upon-Tees, in the adjoining county of Durham, nor of another in 1729 at Scarborough, in the county of York.

The fact is that from 1713 to 1725 the "Old Lodge at York," as Anderson calls it, appears to have exercised but little energy. From 1713 to 1716, says Findel, it held but one or two yearly

meetings, and none at all from 1717 to 1721, and only three meetings in the following two years.¹

The publication in 1723 of its *Book of Constitutions* by the Grand Lodge at London appears to have awakened the Lodge of York into a new life. For unless we suppose a very unlikely agreement of events, it is very evident that some stimulus must have been applied to its energies, since in 1725 it met eleven and in 1726 thirteen times.²

The year 1725 was to the Lodge at York what 1717 had been to the four Lodges of London. The same result was gained, though the course adopted for attaining it was different.

The Grand Lodge at London had been formed by the union of four Lodges. This is the method that has ever since been followed, except as to the precise number of the Lodges, in the organization of all modern Grand Lodges.

The Grand Lodge of York was founded, if we can depend on the very limited details of history that have been preserved, by the simple change of title from that of a Private Lodge to that of a Grand Lodge. This change took place on December 27, 1725, when the Grand Lodge was formed by the election of Charles Bathurst as Grand Master with a Brother Johnson as his Deputy and Brothers Pawson and Francis Drake as Wardens. Brothers Scourfield and Inigo Russel were respectively the Treasurer and Clerk.³

This Grand Lodge now openly denied any higher authority of the body which had been founded in London eight years before. While the body at York was content that that organization of 1717 should be known as the "Grand Lodge of England," it assumed as of rightful ownership the more weighty title of the "Grand Lodge of All England."

Thus constituting itself a Grand Lodge by a mere change of title, and the assumption of more extensive rights, the "Old Lodge at York" asserted a vigorous belief in its own meaning and use of the *Legend of the Craft*.

"You know," says Bro. Drake, its first Junior Grand Warden, "we can boast that the first Grand Lodge ever held in England

¹ Findel, "History of Freemasonry," Lyon's Translation, p. 160.

² Findel, "History of Freemasonry," Lyon's Translation.

³ Hughan, "History of Freemasonry in York," p. 57, and Findel, p. 61.

was held in this city; where Edwin, the first Christian king of the Northumbers, about the sixth hundredth year after Christ, and who laid the foundation of our cathedral, sat as Grand Master. This is sufficient to make us dispute the superiority with the Lodges at London. But as nought of that kind ought to be among so amicable a Fraternity, we are content they enjoy the title of Grand Master of England; but the *Totius Angliae* we claim as our undoubted right."

Francis Drake, the author of this passage, which is taken from a speech delivered by him before the Grand Lodge at its session of December 27, 1726, was an antiquary who is well known by a work in folio published by him in 1735 on the *History and Antiquities of the City of York*. He was in respect to Freemasonry the Desaguliers of the Northern Grand Lodge. To him it was indebted for its first establishment and for the defense of its right to the position it had assumed.

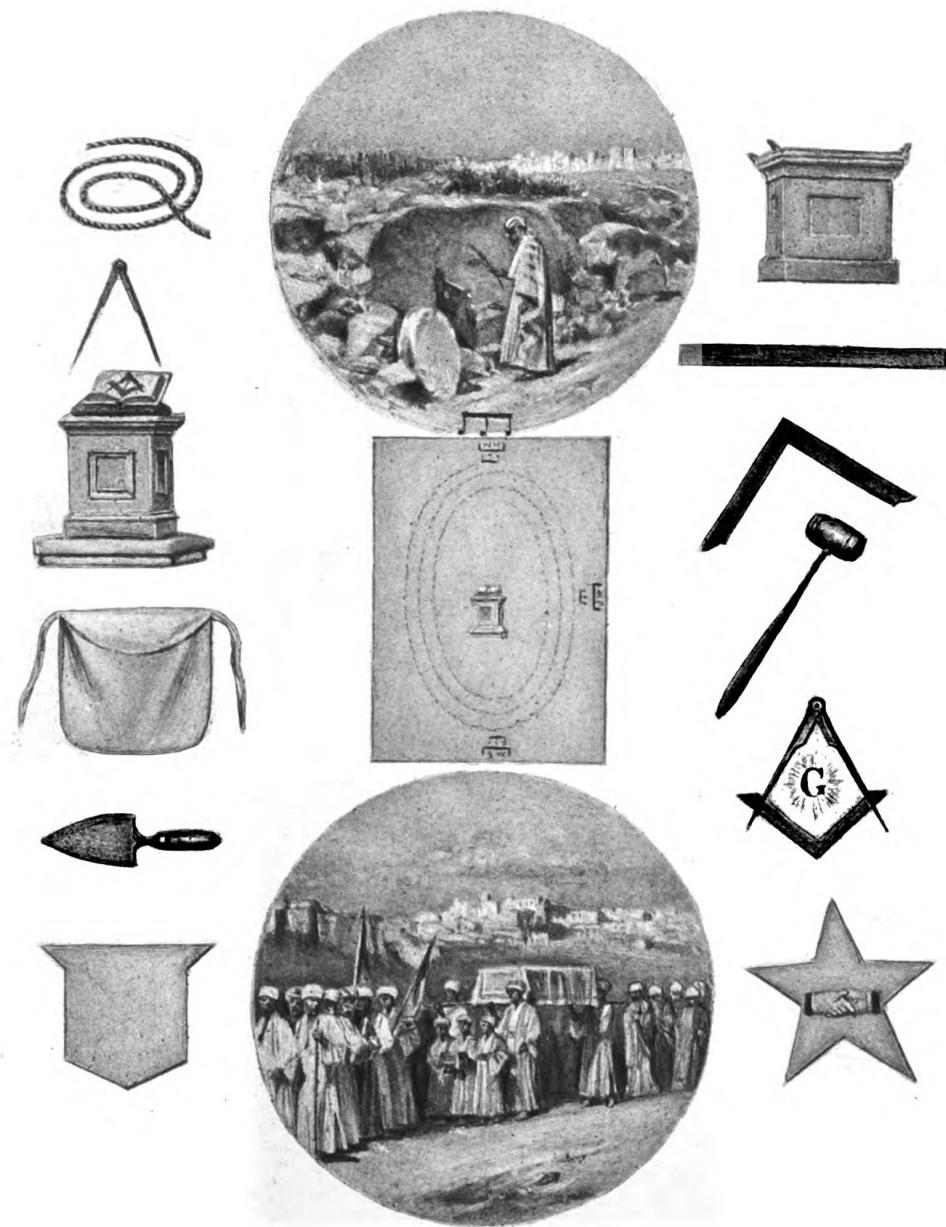
Though he had been initiated only a year before his advancement to the position of Grand Warden, he seems to have taken at once a great interest in the institution and to have cultivated its history.

Bro. Drake was the first to advance the theory that the Edwin who is said in the *Legend of the Craft* to have called together the General Assembly at York, was not the brother of Athelstan, but the converted King of Northumbria, and that the date of the Convocation was not in the 10th, but in the 7th, century. This theory is now accepted by some Masonic historians as the most likely view of the Legend.

Drake also exhibited in his speech a very sensible idea of what was the true origin of Freemasonry. He traces it to a purely Operative source, an opinion which is the favorite one of the historians of the present day.

The Grand Lodge at York, thus constructed by a mere change of title, had in reality by that act acquired a better claim to be called a "Revival" than the Grand Lodge at London. This was assumed to be a resumption of its functions by a Grand Lodge which had always been in existence since the days of Edwin of Northumbria, and which had been inactive for only a few years.

If this theory were sound, most undoubtedly the founding of the Grand Lodge in 1725 would have been a real revival. Unfor-



tunately, the facts are wanting which could support such a theory. There is not the slightest evidence, except that which is but legend, that there ever was a Grand Lodge or a Grand Master in the city of York until the year 1725.

According to the modern principles of Masonic law the Grand Lodge of All England, as it styled itself, was not legally constituted, unless it be admitted that it was a mere continuation or revival of a former Grand Lodge at the same place. But this fact has not been established by any historical proof. That Grand Lodge was, therefore, really only a "Mother Lodge."¹

This system where a private Lodge assumes the functions and exercises the rights of a Grand Lodge under the title of a "Mother Lodge," was used in France at a later period, but never has been acknowledged as a legal method of constitution in any English-speaking country.²

Laurence Dermott³ has asserted that to form a Grand Lodge it was necessary that the representatives of five Lodges should be present. He probably selected this number designedly to attack the legality of the Constitution of the Grand Lodge of England, a body which had been formed by four Lodges. His authority on Masonic law is not considered impartial, and now the principle appears to be settled by the constant usage of America, and by its recognition in Great Britain and Ireland, that the requisite number of constituent Lodges shall be limited to not less than three.

Some idea of the kind seems to have prevailed at an early period among the Freemasons of the south of England, although it had not been formed into a statute. Anderson, in 1738, spoke of the body which had been set up, not as the "Grand Lodge," but as "the old Lodge of York City."⁴

So much we have deemed it necessary to say as a curious point of history. But the question of the legal constitution of the Grand Lodge of York is no longer of any judicial importance, as it has

¹ This is the very name applied by Drake to the Grand Lodge in his celebrated speech. He calls it "the Mother Lodge of them all." See the extract from his address farther on in this chapter.

² Except in Scotland, where the Lodge of Kilwinning assumed the title of "Mother Lodge," and issued warrants for Daughter Lodges. But the act was never recognized as legal by the Grand Lodge of Scotland.

³ Grand Secretary of the "Antients" in his "Ahiman Rezon," p. xiii.

⁴ "Constitutions," 2d edition, p. 196.

long since ceased to exist. Any Lodges which were constituted by that body were on its passing away also put to sleep in like manner.

Bro. Hughan writes "All the 'York' Lodges succumbed on the decease of their 'Mother Grand Lodge,' and there has not been a representative of the Antient York Grand Lodge anywhere whatever, throughout this (19th) century. It never at any time chartered Lodges to meet out of England, and was always opposed to the 'Athol Masons' of London, though the latter sometimes did, unfairly, style themselves 'Antient York Masons,' a title affected since by several Masonic bodies, with as little authority."

Besides the change from a Private Lodge to a Grand Lodge, in 1725, others adopted at the same time are worthy of notice.¹

In 1725 and afterwards the meetings of the Grand Lodge, heretofore held in private houses, were transferred to taverns, following the example of the southern brethren. The "Star Inn" and the "White Swan" are recorded in the minutes of the first places of meeting.

The earlier minutes style the Craft "the Honourable Society and Company of Freemasons." They named themselves in 1725 the "Worshipful and Ancient Society of Free and Accepted Masons." The adoption of the word "Accepted" brought the Freemasons of York in line with those of London, from whose *Book of Constitutions* the former evidently borrowed it.

The minutes after 1725 record the initiation of "gentlemen." Junior Warden Drake at the celebration in 1726 refers to three classes, the "working Masons," those who "are of other trades and occupations," and "gentlemen."

There are many proofs in the records of the Lodge that the second and third classes led, and that the Grand Lodge of York was earnestly striving, by the admission of non-Masons as members, to eliminate the Operative element, and, like its predecessor at London, to assume an entirely Speculative character.

At York there does not seem that opposition to the change which had existed at London, where the Speculative element did

¹ Findel and Hughan both visited York and made a personal inspection of the Lodge records. To the "History of Freemasonry," by the former, and the "History of Freemasonry in York," by the latter, we are indebted for many facts. Preston, though furnishing abundant details, is neither accurate nor impartial, and Anderson, and his successors, Entick and Noorthouck, supply scarcely any information. Some idea of the Grand Lodge at its start may be derived from the speech by Bro. Drake in 1726.

not gain the control of the Society until six years after the organization in 1717. The Lodge at York began to prepare for the change twelve years before it assumed the rank of a Grand Lodge, for in 1713 at a meeting held at Bradford, eighteen "gentlemen" were admitted into the Society.

From the records we learn also that the "Regulations" adopted by the Grand Lodge at London were used for the government of the body at York. Indeed, it is probable that the publication of these "Regulations" in 1723 had started the design of the York Freemasons to organize their Grand Lodge.

Doubtless in the general details of their new system they followed the "Regulations" of 1723. The titles of the presiding officers were changed to agree with the London system from President and Deputy President to Grand Master and Deputy Grand Master, and it is reasonable that other changes were made to conform to the new "Regulations."

Anderson expressly states that the Lodge at York had "the same Constitutions, Charges, Regulations, etc., for substance as their Brethren of England," that is of London.

But, in addition to the London "Regulations," the Lodge at York had another set of rules for its government, which are still in the archives of the present York Lodge. They are on a sheet of parchment indorsed, "Old Rules of the Grand Lodge at York, 1725, No. 8."

These rules are said by both Findel and Hughan to have been adopted in 1725 by the new Grand Lodge. This is probable, because they are signed by "Ed. Bell, Master," who is recorded as having been the Grand Master in 1725. They are referred to in the minutes of July 6, 1726, with the title of the "Constitutions." Probably they were originally the rules made for the regulation of the Lodge long before it assumed the rank and title of a Grand Lodge.

As the Constitution of a Grand Lodge, these rules are in remarkable contrast with the "Regulations" compiled by Payne for the Grand Lodge at London and published in the first edition of the *Book of Constitutions*.

They are nineteen in number, and with the exception of a single article — the eighth — they have the form of a set of rules for the regulation of a social and drinking club rather than that of a code of laws carefully prepared for the inauguration of a great

moral and philosophical institution such as Speculative Freemasonry soon became, and such as it was evidently the design of Desaguliers, Payne, and Anderson to make it.

Even as the rules of a mere club they are interesting. They make us acquainted, by official authority, with the condition of Speculative Freemasonry at York, and with the social usages of the Craft there, in the second and third decades of the 18th century.

They have been published in full by Bro. Hughan in his *History of Freemasonry in York*, a most valuable work but of which both the English and American editions were unfortunately too limited in the number of copies to have it generally known. We have therefore thought that it would be acceptable to the reader to find them reprinted here. A few marginal notes have been added which are partly intended to prove the truth of the opinion that the rules were not framed in 1725 after the Grand Lodge had been established, but had been previously used for the government of the Private Lodge, and were only continued in force by the Grand Lodge.

Rules Agreed to be Kept and Observed by the Antient Society of Freemasons in the City of York, and to be Subscribed by Every Member Thereof at Their Admittance into the Said Society.¹

Imprimis. (In the first place.)

1. That every first Wednesday in the month a Lodge shall be held, at the house of a Brother according as their turn shall fall out.²
2. All subscribers to these articles, not appearing at the Monthly Lodge, shall forfeit sixpence each time.
3. If any Brother appear at a Lodge that is not a subscriber to these articles, he shall pay over and above his club the sum of one shilling.³

¹ It will be remarked that the title "Antient Society of Free and Accepted Masons" as adopted by the Grand Lodge is not here used, but the "Antient Society of Freemasons," which was the form employed by the "Private Lodge" in all the Minutes prior to 1725. This is a strong proof that the Rules were not framed after the Grand Lodge had been organized.

² Monthly meetings at the houses of members in turn though fitting enough for a private Lodge, would scarcely have been adopted as a regulation by a Grand Lodge. In this article we clearly see what was the usage of the old Lodge before it promoted itself to a higher rank.

³ This article was evidently designed not for a Grand Lodge, but for the private Lodge pursuing the social usages of a club. Freemasons who were not members of it might appear as visitors. But every visitor in addition to his "club," or share of the expenses of the evening which were equally distributed among all, was required to pay an additional shilling for the privilege of the visit.

4. The Bowl shall be filled at the monthly Lodges with Punch once, Ale, Bread, Cheese and Tobacco in common, but if anything more shall be called for by any brother, either for eating or drinking, that Brother so calling shall pay for it, himself, besides his club.¹

5. The Master or Deputy shall be obliged to call for a Bill exactly at ten o'clock, if they meet in the evening and discharge it.²

6. None to be admitted to the Making of a Brother but such as have subscribed to these articles.³

7. Timely notice shall be given to all the Subscribers when a Brother or Brothers are to be made.

8. Any Brother or Brothers presuming to call a Lodge with a design to make a Mason or Masons, without the Master or Deputy, or one of them deputed, for every such offence shall forfeit Five Pounds.⁴

9. Any Brother that shall interrupt the Examination of a Brother shall forfeit one shilling.

10. Clerk's Salary for keeping the Books and Accounts shall be one shilling, to be paid him by each Brother at his admittance, and at each of the two Grand days he shall receive such gratuity as the Company shall think proper.

¹This article must satisfy us that the "Old Lodge at York" had adopted the usages of the age, and while it cultivated Freemasonry from its ancient associations, it, like other societies of that period in England, indulged its members with the rational enjoyment of moderate refreshment, but strictly provided, by regulation, against all excess. The bowl was to be filled with punch only once. Lodges elsewhere had similar regulations; they formed a part of the Lodge organization in the beginning of the last century, when almost all associations assumed the form of clubs. But this very fact warrants us in believing that the rule was made for the government of the Lodge, before it declared itself to be a Grand Lodge.

²The calling for the bill and the settlement of the expenses of the night's meeting was a rule adopted by all clubs. Mark the use of the word "Master" instead of "Grand Master." If these rules had been framed by the Grand Lodge in 1725, we may suppose that the latter title would have been employed.

³The "making" of Freemasons is no part of the business of a Grand Lodge. The London "Regulations," it is true, for a short time prescribed that Fellow Crafts and Master Masons should be made in the Grand Lodge, but the "making of Masons," that is, the initiation of candidates into the Society, was always done in a particular or subordinate Lodge. The Grand Lodge of York having, when it was established, no constituents, since it was formed by a self-transmutation from a Lodge to a Grand Lodge, must of course have continued to initiate or make brothers. Probably the rule was made when the Lodge was in its first condition.

⁴We must not suppose that "to call a Lodge" meant to hold a new Lodge without warrant. If that were the meaning, the rule must have been enacted by a Grand Lodge. But the true meaning was that no brothers should call a meeting of the Lodge without the consent of the Master. This is strictly a Lodge rule. Here again we mark that the authority for calling was to come, not from the Grand Master of the Grand Lodge, but from the Master of the Lodge.

11. A Steward to be chose for keeping the Stock at the Grand Lodge, at Christmas and the Accounts to be passed three days after each Lodge.¹

12. If any dispute shall arise, the Master shall silence them by a knock of the Mallet; any Brother that shall presume to disobey, shall immediately be obliged to leave the Company or forfeit five shillings.²

13. A Hour shall be set apart to talk Masonry.³

14. No person shall be admitted into the Lodge but after having been strictly examined.⁴

15. No more persons shall be admitted as Brothers of this Society that shall keep a Public House.⁵

16. That these articles shall at Lodges be laid upon the Table, to be perused by the Members, and also when any new Brothers are made, the clerk shall publickly read them.

17. Every new Brother, at his admittance, shall pay to the Waits,⁶ as their Salary, the sum of two Shillings, the money to be lodged in the Steward's hands and paid to them at each of the Grand days.⁷

¹ In the whole of the nineteen rules this is the only one where we find the title "Grand Lodge." The word "Grand," or perhaps the entire article was inserted, it is to be supposed, when the rules of the Old Lodge were adopted, confirmed or continued by it, when it became a self-constituted Grand Lodge. It was necessary to appoint a Treasurer, here called a Steward, to take charge of the stock or fund of the Grand Lodge and to account for all expenditures. We may believe that the rule, like the other eighteen, was originally framed by the Lodge, but on account of the financial importance of the subject made more specific when it was adopted by the Grand Lodge, so as to define precisely what fund it was that had been entrusted to the Steward.

² Note again the use of "Master" and not "Grand Master."

³ An hour "to talk Masonry," once a month! Still, thankful for small favors, we recognize in this Article the connection of the club with the ancient Craft.

⁴ That visitors were required to submit to an examination proves that the ritual practiced by the Lodge at York was the same as that in common use by the Craft elsewhere. Otherwise there could be no satisfactory examination of visiting strangers.

⁵ This was a very general and necessary rule with the clubs of the 18th century. As they were almost always held at taverns, it was deemed wise to avoid any more friendly relation with the landlord than that of guests who paid their bills as they went.

⁶ "Waits," says Raine, in his "Glossary of the Fabric Rolls," are "musicians who still (1859) parade the towns in the north of England at Christmas-time. At Durham they had a regular livery and wore a silver badge. Their musical abilities at the present time are not of the most striking character, but formerly they were deemed worthy enough to assist the choristers of the Minster." The "Fabric Rolls," under date of 1602, records a charge "to the Waites for their musicke to the same do. Imbassiador, 13s. 4d." The Spanish Ambassador was thus complimented at the expense of the Chapter during his visit to York. On an extraordinary occasion a supper may have followed the initiation of a new brother, when the musical services of the "Waites" would be required to give zest to the entertainment.

⁷ Grand Days, says Brady (Clavis, Calendaria I, 164), were Candlemas Day, Ascension Day, Midsummer Day, and All Saints' Day. They were so called in the Inns of Court. The Lodge might have had, as Grand Days, the festivals of St. John the Baptist and of St. John the Evangelist.

18. The Bidder of the Society shall receive of each new Brother, at his admittance, the sum of one shilling as his Salary.¹

19. No money shall be expended out of the Stock after the hour of ten, as in the fifth article.

These rules throw very considerable light upon the rather uncertain subject of the condition of Freemasonry in the city of York before and at the time of the founding of what is known as the "Grand Lodge of All England."

Whether the usual theory that York was the birthplace of English Freemasonry, and that it was founded there in the 10th century by Prince Edwin, the brother of King Athelstan, as the old manuscripts say, or in the 7th century by Edwin, King of Northumbria, as was, for the first time, advanced by Drake in his speech made in 1726 — whether this theory is to be considered as historical statement, or merely unsupported tradition, need not now be discussed.

The architectural history of what is now commonly called York Minster, may be put in a few lines.

A wooden church was built in 627 by Edwin, King of Northumbria, at the suggestion of Bishop Paulinus, who had converted him to Christianity.²

Bishop Wilfrid, the successor of Paulinus, made many important repairs in 669 and furnished the interior anew.

Roger Hovedon reports that the Minster was destroyed by fire in 741.

In 767, according to Alcuin, who assisted in the work, Archbishop Albert erected a most magnificent building. This church, Raine thinks, was in existence at the time of the Norman Conquest, but in 1069 the Northumbrians attacked the city and it was destroyed by fire.

Archbishop Thomas, the Norman, rebuilt the church in 1070 from its foundations. This church remained unaltered until 1171 when Archbishop Roger began work on a new choir. Raine doubts

¹ The members were to receive "timely notice" when a Brother was to be made (Rule 7). He who served notices and summoned members was called the "Bidder." See also Halliwell's "Dictionary of Archaic and Provincial Words."

² Bede says that the wooden church was temporarily erected for the public baptism of the king, but that immediately afterwards he began a large stone edifice which was finished by his successor, Oswald. "Hist. Eccles.," ii, 14.

the story that the church of Archbishop Thomas was in 1137 destroyed by fire.

Archbishop Roger built the south transept and then at once began the building of the north transept.

In 1291 Archbishop John le Romain laid the first stone of a new nave, which was completed in 1340 by Archbishop William de Nelton.¹

The father, having the same name, John le Romain, was Treasurer of the church in 1260 and he began and finished the north transept and a handsome steeple.

As a curious commentary on the religious attitude of the times we find that Walter Grey who succeeded Archbishop Roger in 1227 granted an indulgence (relaxed the law) of 40 days to the benefactors who liberally contributed "towards the Work of the Fabric thereof."

About this period we are through the *Fabric Rolls* familiar with the usages of the Freemasons employed from that time to its completion in building the Minster under the direction of the Church Chapter.

In 1361 the Presbytery was begun and completed in 1373 by Archbishop John Thoresby. In 1380 the choir was commenced, and the work going on without halt, it was completed in 1400. In 1405 the central tower was begun and finished at an uncertain period. In 1432 the southwestern tower was begun, and at a later date the northwestern tower was erected, both being completed about 1470, when the painted vault of the central tower was set up and finished. In 1472, the work being completed, the Minster was reconsecrated.²

For the long period of eight hundred and forty-five years, with some halting, the great work of building a cathedral in the city of York was pursued by Freemasons, most of whom were brought from the continent.

Roger, the Prior of Hexham, lived in the 12th century. He tells us that Bishop Wilfrid, while building the first stone church

¹ So far we are indebted for dates to the authority of Raine, Preface to "Fabric Rolls," p. vii, and following pages.

² These additional dates are from R. Willis, "Architectural History of York Cathedral," p. 47. See also "An Accurate Description and History of the Cathedral and Metropolitan Church of St. Peter, York."

at York, brought into England Freemasons and other skillful artisans from Rome, Italy, France, and elsewhere he could find them.¹

Of the usages and regulations of these Freemasons, or of their organization as a Gild or Fraternity, we have no knowledge except what is derived from conjecture or analogy.

But it is historically certain from the authority of the *Fabric Rolls*, to which frequent reference has been made, that from the beginning of the 14th century Freemasons were employed at the Minster then in course of erection, and that these Freemasons were organized into a body similar to that of the workmen engaged in the building of the cathedrals of Cologne and of Strasburg.

It is a singular coincidence, if it be nothing more, and it is of great historical importance, that no manuscript Constitution yet discovered is claimed to have an older date than that of the 14th century, and about the time when the Freemasons of York were building the great Church of that city.

Hence it would not be unreasonable to suppose that the Freemasons who built the Cathedral of York in the 14th century were the composers of the first of the "Old Constitutions," and of the *Legend of the Craft* they all contain. This would rationally account for the fact that in this Legend the origin of Freemasonry in England, as a Gild, is credited to Craftsmen who met at York, and there held a General Assembly.

If the Freemasons of the south of England were authors of these Constitutions, they would have been more likely in framing the Legend to have selected London or some southern city as the birthplace of their Gild, than to have chosen for that honor a city in the remote limits of the kingdom, and of which from the difficulties of travel they would have no familiar knowledge.

On the other hand, nothing could be more natural than that the Freemasons living and working at York in the 14th century should have a tradition that at some time in the past their predecessors had held a great meeting in their own city, and framed the laws which became the Constitution of the Craft.

¹ De Roma, quoque, et Italia, et Francia, et de aliis terris ubicumque invenire poterat, cemantarios, et quoslibet alios industrios artifices secum retinuerat, et ad opera sua facienda secum in Angliam adduxerat. Roger, Prior, Hagulst. liber i, cap. 5.

As a self-evident proposition there must have been a time when, and a place where, the Constitution and the *Legend of the Craft* were first committed to writing.

As to the time, we know of no manuscript older than the 14th century. The earliest is the Regius poem, assigned by competent authority to the year 1390. But there are good reasons for believing that the work published by Halliwell is really a compilation made up of two preceding poems, which might have been composed a few years earlier. In that case they would thus be of the very period when the Freemasons were at work on York Minster.

As to the place, we have only the internal evidence of the *Legend of the Craft*. This indicates from the story of the Assembly at York that the Legend was made by the local Freemasons out of a tradition already familiar to them.

The Regius poem does not name York as the place where the General Assembly was held. That is no proof that it was not so stated in the unwritten tradition from which the poem was borrowed. The tradition was probably so well known, so familiar to the Freemasons at York, that the writer of the poem did not deem it necessary to define the Assembly further than by the name of him who called it. Two centuries later, when the Freemasons of the south of England began to make copies of the Legend, they found it necessary to follow the tradition more closely and to claim York as the place of the Assembly.

Then, too, these southern English Freemasons sought to impair the claim of their northern Brethren. Thus in the Cooke manuscript, written a century after the Regius poem, the "Legend of St. Alban" is introduced. The Freemasons of Verulam, the ancient site of St. Albans, are said, instead of those of York, to have had "charges and maners" that is, Masonic laws and usages, "first in England."¹ But the later manuscripts admit the decay of the Craft after the death of St. Alban, and its later revival at York.

The Regius poem speaks of the Assembly as having been held at "that syte." The later manuscripts name that city as York, and retain the same tradition as the poem. Therefore we may, as Bro. Woodford justly says, fairly conclude that the "syte" or city in the Regius poem refers to York.

¹ Cooke manuscript, line 608.

We need not seek to determine, if we could settle that question, whether Freemasonry was first established in England as a Gild, at the city of York, as the earliest manuscript says; or whether after its decay following St. Alban, it was only revived in that city. Nor need we try to decide whether the General Assembly was held and the Charges instituted by Edwin, the brother of Athelstan, in the 10th century, as all the old manuscripts say, or by Edwin, King of Northumbria, in the 7th, as was first advanced by Bro. Drake in 1726 (a theory adopted by several students), or finally by the Freemasons who built the York Cathedral in the 14th century, which appears to be a likely theory.

This condition need not affect the probability that similar organizations existed among the Freemasons who at the same time were employed in the construction of cathedrals in other parts of England and Scotland. Of their existence we have historical certainty, but of their customs and regulations we have no knowledge because their *Fabric Rolls* have not come to light.

Accepting any of the three theories just mentioned, we will arrive at the conclusion that Freemasonry assumed at the city of York that form which was represented at first by the building corporations or Craft Gilds, known as Operative Lodges in the 14th, 15th, 16th, and 17th centuries. In the 18th century this form was changed into that system of Speculative Freemasonry of which the Masonic Lodges of the present day are the children.

True, such a claim is based only on tradition and a recorded legend. But this tradition is so universal and is sustained by much logical inference and by so many related and authentic circumstances only explained by a reference to that tradition, that the tradition itself becomes invested with historical weight.

Resuming, then, the history of the rise and progress of the Grand Lodge of All England, we find its germ in the Gild of Operative Freemasons. These in the 14th and 15th centuries were employed in building York Minster, if we do not choose to trace them from earlier times.

There is no reason to suppose that there was a halt of the labors of York Lodge when the Minster was completed in 1472.¹

¹ As the church had been in fact rebuilt, it was reconsecrated on July 3, 1472, and that day was deemed to be the feast of the dedication of the church of York in future. Willis, "Architectural History of York Cathedral," p. 47.

We infer not only that it continued to exist, but that it extended its influence. There is proof that there were many Lodges in other parts of England. The old manuscript charges show that these Lodges were regulated by one common law and by similar usages.

But of the especial history of the Lodge at York during the 16th century we have no authentic information. We believe that it existed early in the 17th, because a manuscript copy of the "Old Constitutions" and the "Legend" was prepared for it in 1630. This manuscript was in the archives of the Lodge in 1777, but was afterwards lost.

There is also in the archives of the York Lodge another and a later manuscript Constitution which bears the date of 1693. The Lodge, we may presume, was then in active operation.

We have next an authentic record that the Minutes of the Lodge as early as 1704 were at one time in existence. These Minutes can not be found, and the earliest available records of the Lodge begin with the year 1712.

Preston and some other writers declare that there was a Grand Lodge and a Grand Master at York in the 16th century. These statements are entirely without substantial proof.

We do know that there was an Operative Lodge at York about the close of the 14th century and for many years previous. We also know that there was an Operative Lodge in the same city about the beginning of the 17th century which was continued until the beginning of the 18th. With no evidence to the contrary, we fairly infer that the one was the offspring of the other.

Dr. J. P. Bell, in a work entitled the *Stream of English History*, gives a list of the presiding officers of the Lodge from 1705 to 1781. Bro. Hughan refers to it in his *History of Freemasonry in York* and says that the List may be relied on. The author, however, is in error in assigning the title of Grand Master to the officers who presided from 1705 to 1724. They were, until the latter date, called "Presidents" or "Masters." Not until the Lodge assumed the rank of a Grand Lodge in 1725 was the title of "Grand Master" adopted.

Up to the year 1725 the Lodge at York was strictly what it called itself, a "Private Lodge," and in its Minutes it bears the

name of St. John's Lodge. Preston says that in 1705 there were several Lodges in York and its neighborhood. We fail to find any other support of this fact than his own assertion. Unfortunately, the disputes between the Lodge of Antiquity, of which Preston was a member, and the Grand Lodge of England, in which the Grand Lodge of York took a part, created such a party feeling in Preston and his friends against the former and for the latter body, that his authority on any subject connected with York Freemasonry is of doubtful value. His natural desire was to magnify the Grand Lodge which had taken his own Lodge under its protection, and to slight the one against which it had rebelled.

Until the contrary is shown by competent authority we must believe that in 1705 there was but one Lodge at York, that which twenty years later assumed the title and functions of a Grand Lodge.

From its earliest records we find that, though this was an Operative Lodge in name, because at that time all Masonic Lodges were of that character, yet the Theoretic members greatly outnumbered the practical or working Craftsmen. Thus the Lodge was gradually preparing the way for that change into a purely Speculative institution which was then taking place in London.

The speech of the Junior Grand Warden, Bro. Drake, delivered before the Grand Lodge in 1726, shows that there were at that time three classes of members in the York Lodge, namely, "working Masons, persons of other trades and occupations, and Gentlemen."

To the first of these classes he recommended a careful reading of the Constitution, to the second class he advised obedience to the moral precepts of the Society, and attention to their own business, without any expectation of becoming expert in Operative Freemasonry. "You cannot," he says, "be so absurd as to think that a tailor, when admitted a Freemason, is able to build a church; and for that reason, your own vocation ought to be your most important study."

On the "Gentlemen" only, did he impress the necessity of a knowledge of the arts and sciences, and he especially urged upon them the study of geometry and architecture.

Francis Drake,¹ the author of this address, was of much learning and an antiquary. Like another Freemason of the period, George Payne, of the London Grand Lodge, whom he resembled in his literary pursuits, his ambition seems to have been to establish a system of pure Speculative Freemasonry different from the Operative.

Something of this kind he distinctly expresses toward the close of his speech before the Grand Lodge.

"It is true," he says, addressing the Gentlemen or Theoretic members, "by Signs, Words, and Tokens, you are put upon a level with the meanest brother; but then you are at liberty to exceed them as far as a superior genius and education will conduct you. I am creditably informed that in most Lodges in London, and several other parts of this kingdom, a lecture on some point of geometry or architecture is given at every meeting. And why the Mother Lodge of them all should so far forget her own institutions can not be accounted for, but from her extreme old age. However, being now sufficiently awakened and revived by the comfortable appearance of so many worthy sons, I must tell you that she expects that every Gentleman who is called a Freemason should not be startled at a problem in geometry, a proposition in Euclid, or, at least, be wanting on the history and just distinctions of the five orders of architecture."

December 27, 1725, the Lodge resolved itself into a Grand Lodge (if this can properly be said of the proceeding), and Charles Bathurst, Esq., was elected Grand Master, with Mr. Johnson for his Deputy, and Messrs. Pawson and Drake, both of whom had been initiated in the previous September, as Grand Wardens.²

On the festival of St. John the Evangelist, in the following year,³ Bathurst was again elected Grand Master, and the Society

¹ He was born in 1695, and in early life established himself at York as a surgeon and practiced, Britton says, with considerable reputation, but antiquarian researches was his favorite pursuit. He published a "Parliamentary History of England to the Restoration" and many essays in the "Archæologia" and in the "Philosophical Transactions." His principal work, however, and the one by which he is best remembered, was published at London in 1736 under the title of "Ebora-cum," or the "History and Antiquities of the City of York from its Original to the Present Time." From its title we learn that Drake was a Fellow of the Royal Society and a member of the Society of Antiquaries of London.

² Bro. Findel, who inspected the Minutes while on a visit to York says these officers are there called Wardens, not Grand Wardens. "History of Freemasonry," p. 161.

³ Findel gives this date as 1725, but he is clearly in error, as the printed title of the Speech states that it was delivered "on St. John's Day, December 27, 1726."

marched in procession to Merchants' Hall, where the Speech was delivered by Bro. Francis Drake, the Junior Grand Warden.

Like its sister of London, the Grand Lodge at York was troubled with divisions at a very early period of its existence.¹ William Sourfield convened a Lodge and made Freemasons without the consent of the Grand Master or his Deputy. For this offence he was expelled, or as the Minutes say, "banished from the Society for ever."

John Carpenter, W. Musgrave, Th. Alleson, and Th. Preston, who had assisted Sourfield in his illegal proceedings, on their acknowledging their error and making due submission, it was agreed should be restored to favor.

Findel gives the following account of the later proceedings which was taken by him from the Minutes of the Grand Lodge:

"After the Minutes of December 22, 1726, a considerable space is left in the page,² and then follow the Minutes of June 21, 1729, wherein it is said that two Gentlemen were received into the St. John's Lodge and their election confirmed by vote: Edw. Thompson, Esq., Grand Master; John Willmers, Deputy Grand Master; G. Rhodes, and Reynoldson, Grand Wardens. The Grand Master on his part appointed a Committee of seven brothers, amongst whom was Drake, to assist him in the management of the Lodge, and every now and then support his authority in removing any abuses which might have crept in.

"The Lodge was, however, at its last gasp, and therefore the Committee seem to have effected but little; for on May 4, 1730, it was found necessary to exact the payment of a shilling from all officers of the Lodge who did not make their appearance and with this announcement the Minutes close."³

At this time, according to Findel, there were no Lodges subordinate to the Grand Lodge. His statement, however, that after the meeting in May, 1730, it was inactive until 1760, is shown by the records to be not fully in accord with the facts.

The Lodge, or the Grand Lodge, after 1729, must for some years have dragged out a life of inactivity. Bell's list shows that

¹ The reader is reminded of the proceedings at the London Grand Lodge in 1722 relative to the election of the Duke of Wharton as Grand Master.

² Dr. Bell's List has no names of Grand Masters for 1722 and 1728.

³ "History of Freemasonry," p. 164.

there were no Grand Masters (probably because there were no meetings) in 1730, 1731, and 1732. John Johnson, M.D., is recorded as Grand Master in 1733, and John Marsden, Esq., in 1734.

There are no records of Grand Masters or of Proceedings from 1734 until 1761. During that period of twenty years, while the Grand Lodge of England was diffusing the light of Speculative Freemasonry throughout the world, the Grand Lodge of All England was asleep.

From this long slumber it awoke in the year 1761. The method of its awakening is explained to us in the Minutes which have been preserved. As this event is one of much importance in the history of Freemasonry at York, we copy the Minute in full.

The Ancient and Independent Constitution of Free and Accepted Masons, belonging to the City of York, was, this Seventeenth day of March, in the year of our Lord 1761, Revived by Six of the Surviving Members of the Fraternity by the Grand Lodge being opened, and held at the House of Mr. Henry Howard, in Lendall, in the said City, by them and others hereinafter named.

When and where it was farther agreed on that it should be continued and held there only the Second and Last Monday in every Month.

PRESENT:

Grand Master, Brother Francis Drake, Esq., F.R.S.
Deputy G. M. " George Reynoldson.
Grand Wardens " George Coates and Thomas Mason.

VISITING BRETHREN:

Tasker, Leng, Swetnam, Malby, Beckwith, Frodsham, Fitzmaurice, Granger, Crisp, Oram, Burton, and Howard.

Minutes of the Transactions at the Revival and Opening of the said Grand Lodge:

Brother John Tasker was, by the Grand Master and the rest of the Brethren, unanimously appointed Grand Secretary and Treasurer, he having just petitioned to become a Member and being approved and accepted nem. con.¹

¹ The brief way of writing, "Nemine contradicente," the Latin for "No one speaking in opposition."

Brother Henry Howard also petitioned to be admitted a Member, who was accordingly ballotted for and approved nem. con.

Mr. Charles Chaloner, Mr. Seth Agar, George Palmes, Esq., Mr. Ambrose Beckwith, and Mr. William Siddall petitioned to be made Brethren the first opportunity, who, being severally ballotted for, were all approved of nem. con.

This Lodge was closed till Monday, the 23d day of this instant Month, unless in case of Emergency.

The Grand Lodge, thus revived, had at first and for some years but one constituent Lodge under its obedience, or, to speak more correctly, the Grand Lodge of All England and the Lodge at York were really one and the same body. While it claimed the title and the rights of a Grand Lodge, it also performed the functions of a Private Lodge in making Freemasons. But it afterward increased its constituency, and in the year 1769 granted Warrants for opening Lodges at Ripon, at Knaresborough, and at Iniskilling.

In 1767 the Grand Lodge of England, at London, addressed a report of the business done at its quarterly communication to a Lodge held at the Punch Bowl, in the city of York. To this Lodge it had granted a Warrant, as No. 259, on the 12th of January, 1761.

But this Lodge ceased to exist and the document appears to have fallen into the hands of the Grand Master of the York Grand Lodge. He laid it before the Grand Lodge at a meeting held on the 14th December, 1767, when they resolved that a letter should be sent by the Grand Secretary to the Grand Lodge at London.

In this letter the claims of the York Grand Lodge are set forth in strong terms. "The Most Ancient Grand Lodge of all England, held from time immemorial in this city (York), is the only Lodge held therein."

The letter also asserts that "this Lodge acknowledges no Superior, that it exists in its own Right, that it grants Constitutions and Certificates in the same manner as is done by the Grand Lodge in London, and as it has from Time immemorial had a Right and used to do, and that it distributes its own Charity according to the true principles of Masons."

Hence it does not doubt that the Grand Lodge at London will pay due respect to it and to the Brethren made by it, professing that it ever had a very great esteem for that body and the brethren claiming privileges under its authority.

Findel says that "a correspondence with the Grand Lodge of England in London, in the year 1767, proves that the York Lodge was then on the best of terms with the former."¹

We do not see the situation from that point of view. A correspondence is the mutual interchange of letters. The Grand Lodge in London sent an official communication to a Lodge in the city of York, ignoring, in so doing, the Grand Lodge of York. The Lodge having been discontinued, this communication comes into the possession of the Grand Lodge at York, for which the letter had not been intended. That body sends to the Grand Lodge at London a letter asserting its equality with that Grand Lodge and the immemorial right that it had to grant Warrants, which right it trusts that the Grand Lodge in London will respect.

This language, if it means anything, is a mild protest against the further interference of the London Grand Lodge, with the local jurisdiction of the Grand Lodge in York.

It is true that in the close of the letter the York Grand Lodge expresses its esteem for the body at London and its willingness to concur with it in anything for the general good of Freemasonry.

The letter was dignified and courteous. It asserted rights and prerogatives, which it need not have done if they had not been invaded, and it made the offer of a compact of friendship.

There is no evidence that the Grand Lodge of England cared to make a reply. The letter was treated with frosty silence, and thus there was no correspondence between the two bodies.

Bro. Hughan, however, agrees with Bro. Findel so far as to say that this letter is of much consequence in proving that the two Grand Lodges were on excellent terms.²

The position of the parties was not of the same mutual regard. The letter shows a desire on the part of the Grand Lodge of York to cultivate friendly relations with that in London. But we have no evidence that the amicable feeling was returned in any active way.

¹ "History of Freemasonry," p. 166.

² "History of Freemasonry in York," p. 70.

On the contrary, all the records go to show that the Grand Lodge at London was aggressive in repeated acts which demonstrated that it did not think it necessary to respect any territory rights of the Masonic authority at York.

In 1738 Dr. Anderson speaks of it not as a Grand Lodge, but "the Old Lodge at York" which "affected independence." Evidently, in his opinion, it was merely a Lodge that was unwilling to place itself under obedience to his own Grand Lodge.

That the Grand Lodge of England refused to recognize the authority of the Lodge at York in its sovereign capacity as a Grand Lodge having territorial jurisdiction over the north of England or even over the two Ridings of Yorkshire is shown by the records.

Four years only after the Lodge at York had assumed the title of a Grand Lodge, the Grand Lodge of England constituted a Lodge at Scarborough in 1729; in 1738, another at Halifax; in 1761, a third and fourth at the city of York, and at Darlington the one two months before and the other three months after the York Grand Lodge had again become active; in 1762, a fifth at Orley; in 1763, a sixth at Richmond; and in 1766, a seventh at Wakefield, all situated within the county of York, and one in the very city where the Grand Lodge held its sessions.

It is not surprising that the York Grand Lodge in time resorted to reprisals, and as will presently be seen, most decidedly invaded the jurisdiction of the Grand Lodge at London.

Dr. Bell, in his *History of the Grand Lodge of York*,¹ says that "the two Grand Lodges continued to go on amicably until the year 1734, when in consequence of the Grand Lodge of England having granted Warrants, out of its prescribed jurisdiction, shyness between the Lodges ensued."

Both Bell and Findel, who make the same statement as to a Lodge warranted in 1734, are wrong as to the date. No Lodge was constituted in York by the Grand Lodge of England in that year. But as it had constituted one in 1729, we may give credit to the account of the "shyness." The mistake of a date will not affect the existence of the feeling.

¹ "History of the Provincial Grand Lodge of North and East Yorkshire, Including Notices of the Ancient Grand Lodge of York," as mentioned by Bro. Hughan in his "History of Freemasonry in York," p. 45.

Preston commits the same error as Bell and Findel concerning the Constitution of two Lodges in York in 1734.¹ But he adds what is of importance, considering his intimacy with the subject, that the Grand Lodge in York highly resented the trespass of the Grand Lodge of England on its jurisdiction and "ever after seems to have viewed the proceedings of the Brethren in the South with a jealous eye; as all friendly intercourse ceased, and the York Masons from that moment considered their interests distinct from the Masons under the Grand Lodge in London."²

Soon after the revival of the Grand Lodge it was visited by Preston and Calcott, two distinguished Masonic writers. Hughan supposed that about this time the Royal Arch degree was added to the York system by the latter. That subject will be examined in dealing with the history of the degree.

From the time of its reopening in 1761 until near the close of the 18th century the York Grand Lodge appears to have flourished with considerable activity.³

The festival of St. John the Evangelist was celebrated in 1770 by a procession to church, and a sermon on the appropriate text, "God is love." Representatives from the three Lodges at Ripon, Knaresborough, and Iniskilling were present. Sir Thomas Gascoigne was elected Grand Master.⁴

In the same year a Warrant was granted for the Constitution of a Lodge at Macclesfield in Cheshire. There were now at least four subordinates acknowledging obedience to the York Grand Lodge.

¹ From Preston it is that Bell and Findel have their authority for the account of Lodges being constituted in 1734. Bro. Hughan investigated the subject with his wonted perseverance and says that "there is no register of any Lodge being Warranted or Constituted in Yorkshire or neighborhood in A. D. 1734. We have searched every List of Lodges of any consequence from A.D. 1738 to A.D. 1784, including the various editions of the Constitutions, Freemason's Calendars, Companions and Pocket Books, etc., but can not find any 'Deputation granted within the jurisdiction of the Grand Lodge of all England, during 1734 by the Grand Lodge of England.'" See the "History of Freemasonry in York," p. 47.

² Preston, Jones edition, p. 214.

³ Findel says that from 1765 the name of "Bro. Drake is seldom mentioned." But consider that at that date Drake had reached the seventieth year of his age, and that five years later, 1770, he died. We find ample cause for his withdrawal from the active duties of Masonic labor.

⁴ This baronet was a descendant of Nicholas Gascoigne, the brother of that celebrated Chief Justice who in the reign of Henry IV. committed the heir apparent, the "Merry Prince Hal," to prison for contempt of court. He was a native and resident of Yorkshire, having houses at Barstow, Lasingcroft, and Parlington, all in the county. See Kimber and Johnson's "Baronetage of England," London, 1771, vol. iii, p. 352.

A dispute arising between the Lodge of Antiquity in London and the Grand Lodge of England, the former body withdrew from its obedience to the latter. This famous Lodge then applied for a Warrant from the Grand Lodge of York. The Warrant was received in 1778 authorizing it to assemble as a Grand Lodge for all that part of England situated to the south of the river Trent. This event in the history of the Freemasonry of England involved important results and must receive detailed consideration in another chapter.

We need not pursue minutely the history of the Grand Lodge of York from that period to its final collapse.

The last reference in the Minutes of the Lodge at York to the Grand Lodge of All England has the date of August 23, 1792. It is a rough reference on a sheet of paper recording the election of Bro. Wolley as Grand Master, George Kitson as Grand Treasurer, and Richardson and Williams as Grand Wardens.¹

We have no evidence from official records that the Grand Lodge ever met again. It seems to have silently expired. The Lodge at York continued its existence as a Private Lodge, and finally came under the jurisdiction of the Grand Lodge of England.

As the Rev. Bro. Woodford has stated, the York Grand Lodge was never formally dissolved but simply absorbed, so to say, by the growth of its more prosperous southern rival of 1717.²

Bringing this history of the rise and progress of Speculative Freemasonry in the city of York to a close, we are impressed with the opinion that the "Old Lodge at York" was never in the legal sense of the word a Grand Lodge. It was not formed, like the Grand Lodge at London, by the coöperation of several Private Lodges. It was never recognized as such by the Grand Lodge of England, but was always known as the "Old Lodge at York."

Anderson so called it in 1738, and his successor, Noorthouck, writing in 1784, says of it that "the ancient York Masons were confined to one Lodge, which is still extant, but consists of very few members, and will probably be soon altogether annihilated."³

¹ Hughan, "History of Freemasonry in York," p. 79.

² The connection of York with the "History of Freemasonry in England," by A. F. A. Woodford, M.A., in Hughan's "Unpublished Records of the Craft," p. 172.

³ Noorthouck, "Book of Constitutions," p. 240.

Like the Lodges of Kilwinning in Scotland and of Marseilles in France, it was a "Mother Lodge." This term, in Masonic language, has been used to denote a Private Lodge which, of its own motion, has assumed the prerogatives and functions of a Grand Lodge by granting Warrants. This title was applied to it by Bro. Drake, its Junior Grand Warden, when he delivered his "Speech" in 1726, the year after it had claimed to be a Grand Lodge.

But it continued at all times to exercise the function of "making Masons," a work which is given by Grand Lodges to their subordinates.

As late as the year 1761, when, after a long slumber, the Grand Lodge was revived, one of its first acts was to ballot for five candidates who were, on the first opportunity, initiated by it.

The rules adopted for its government in 1725 use the word "Lodge" five times as the title of the Society, and that of "Grand Lodge" only once in reference to the funds.

These rules are signed by Ed. Bell, who calls himself "Master" not "Grand Master."

The Freemasons of York placed themselves in an uncertain position. Between the desire to imitate their London brethren by establishing a Grand Lodge and the dislike to give up the old organization of a Private Lodge, they lost sight of the true character of a Grand Lodge, as determined by the example of 1717.

Therefore, it is not surprising, as Bro. Hughan remarks, that these rules offer a strange contrast to the Constitutions of the Grand Lodge of England published two years before.

There can, however, be little or no doubt, as the same thoughtful writer has observed, that in consequence of the publication of the London Constitutions the Freemasons of York "began to stir themselves and to assume the prerogatives of a Grand Lodge." But in borrowing from their Brethren the title of a Grand Lodge, the York Freemasons did not also profit by adopting the same type of organization.

In view of all these facts it is impossible to recognize the body at York in any other light than that of a Mother Lodge, a body assuming temporarily the prerogatives of a Grand Lodge. While to the body established at London in 1717 must be conceded the true rank and title of the Mother Grand Lodge of the World,

from which, directly or indirectly, have proceeded as its lawful offspring all the Grand Lodges organized in the 18th and 19th centuries.

What must we infer from these historical facts? This and no more nor less: that there was a Mother Lodge in the city of York, which assumed the title and prerogatives of a Grand Lodge, but exercised the functions both of a Grand and a Private Lodge — a condition unrecognized by modern Masonic law.

York will ever be a treasured title to Freemasons. The rich rare beauty of the great and glorious Minster lend charms to the story that tells of the devotion and skill of its builders. They are among our leaders and the Mother Lodge erected by them has with the traditions and history centering there a strong grip upon the affections of the Craft. Our Fraternity has its prophecy and fulfillment in the stately lines of Cowper:

“How reverend is the face of this tall pile,
Whose ancient pillars rear their marble heads
To bear aloft its arched and ponderous roof,
By its own weight made steadfast and immovable,
Looking tranquillity.”

Gone may be the activity of that ambition for larger Masonic service that blossomed into the self-styled Grand Lodge of All England but York will always add lustre to our record, the radiance of a cherished pilot light, the inspiring guide of a beacon centuries old star-set above the storms.

CHAPTER EIGHTY-FOUR

ORGANIZATION OF THE GRAND LODGE OF SCOTLAND



T is much easier for us to write the history of the organization of the Grand Lodge of Scotland than that of England. The materials for our use in the former case are far more abundant and more authentic, and the growth of the organization was more gradual, and each step in its progress was more carefully recorded.

But the latter case is quite different. Almost the only authority or guide that we have for the occurrences which led to the establishment of the Grand Lodge in England, in the year 1717, is the meager history supplied by Anderson in the second edition of the *Book of Constitutions*.

As we have already seen, the four old Lodges suddenly sprung into being as an organized unit. There was no detailed story of their previous existence, and no account of the mental method by which their members were led to so completely change their character and constitution from the Operative to a purely Speculative institution.

In Scotland, on the contrary, the processes which led to the change are well marked — the previous condition of the Lodges is recorded, and we are enabled to trace the distinct steps which finally led to the founding of the Grand Lodge in the year 1736.

From historical evidence it would appear that in the 17th century there were three methods by which a new Lodge could be formed in Scotland. The first of these was by the authority of the King, the second by that of the General Warden, perhaps the most usual way. The third was by members separating from an old and already established Lodge, and with its consent forming a new one, the old Lodge becoming in technical terms the mother, and the new one the daughter.

All these methods are mentioned by a Minute of the Lodge of Edinburgh in the year 1688. A certain number of the members of that Lodge left it. Without its sanction they formed a new Lodge in the Canongate and North Leith. Whereupon the Lodge of Edinburgh declared the new Canongate and Leith Lodge to have acted "contrary to all custom, law and reason," inasmuch as it had been formed in contempt of the Edinburgh Lodge, and "without any Royal or General Warden's authority."

This ruling is said to be "Mason Law," and for its violation the Lodge was pronounced illegal. All communication with its members, or with those who were entered or passed in it, was prohibited, and it was forbidden to employ them as journeymen under a heavy penalty. In a word, the Lodge was placed in the position of what in modern terms we should call "a Clandestine Lodge."

But the old law governing the organization of new Lodges seems by this time to have become weak. Protest of the Edinburgh Lodge amounted to a mere flourish of words, argument without successful action. The Canongate and Leith Lodge continued to exist and to grow. Almost a half century later, it was recognized, notwithstanding its illegal birth, as a regular body, and admitted into the constituency of the Grand Lodge.

We may therefore presume that at or about the close of the 17th century the Scottish Lodges began to assume the privileges which Preston says at that time belonged to the English Freemasons, when any number could assemble and, with the consent of the civil authority, organize themselves into a Lodge.

At the beginning of the 18th century there were many Lodges of Operative Freemasons in Scotland, which had been formed in one of the three ways already indicated. The two most important of these were the Lodge of Edinburgh and that of Kilwinning. The latter especially had chartered several Lodges, and hence was by its members and friends called the Mother Lodge of Scotland. The title, however, was disputed by the Lodge of Edinburgh and never was fully and legally recognized.

A first step to the founding of a Speculative Grand Lodge must have necessarily been the admission into the ranks of the Operative Craft of non-professional members. We have seen the effect of this in the organization of the Grand Lodge of England.

In Scotland the evidences of the result of the admission of these non-professionals is well shown in the Minutes of the Lodge of Edinburgh. The strife between the Operative and the non-operative elements for the lead, and the final victory of the latter, are detailed at length. If such a spirit of rivalry existed in England, as an episode in the history of its Grand Lodge, no record of it has been preserved.

An early instance of the reception of a non-professional member is that of Lord Alexander, who was admitted as a Fellow Craft in the Lodge of Edinburgh on July 3, 1634. On the same day Sir Alexander Strachan was also received into membership.

The fact that these are the earliest recorded admissions of non-operatives among the Craft must not lead us to infer that before that date non-Operatives were not received into Lodges.

On the contrary, there is a Minute of the year 1600 which records the fact that the Laird of Auchinleck was present at a meeting of the Lodge of Edinburgh, and as one of the members took part in its deliberations. William Schaw, who was recognized as the General Warden and Chief Mason of Scotland in 1590, was most probably not an Operative Freemason. Indeed, all the inferential evidence lies the other way. Yet his official position required that he should be present at the meetings of the Lodges, which would lead to the necessity of his reception among the Craft. The same thing applies to his predecessors, so that it is very evident that the custom of admitting non-Operatives among the Craft must have been practiced at a very early period, perhaps from the very introduction of Freemasonry into Scotland, or the 13th century.

We shall see hereafter how this non-Operative element, as it grew in numbers and in strength, led finally to the founding of a non-Operative or Speculative Grand Lodge.

Attention must now be directed to another circumstance in the history of Scottish Freemasonry, namely, the contests between the Masters and the Journeymen. These struggles had an important influence in the final triumph of Speculative over Operative Freemasonry.

Taking the Lodge of Edinburgh as a fair example of the condition and character of the other Lodges of the kingdom, we may say that during all of the 17th century there is to be observed a

distinction between the Master Masons or the employers and the Fellow Crafts or Journeymen who were employed.

The former claimed a controlling position, which the latter from necessity but with great dislike conceded. Only on rare occasions did the Masters admit the Fellows to a part in the counsels of the Lodge.

This claim of a higher position and power by the Masters was founded, it must be admitted, upon the letter and spirit of the Schaw Statutes of 1598 and 1599.

In these Statutes the utmost care appears to have been taken to deprive the Fellows of all power in the Craft and to bestow it wholly on the Wardens, Deacons, and Masters.

Thus the Warden was to be elected annually by the Masters of the Lodge, all matters of importance were to be considered by the Wardens and Deacons of different Lodges to be convened in an Assembly called by the Warden and Deacon of Kilwinning; all trials of members, whether Masters or Fellows, were to be determined by the Warden and six Masters; all difficulties were to be settled in the same way. In a word, these Statutes seem to have passed over the Fellows in the spread of power and centered it wholly upon the Masters.

But this evidently very unjust and unequal sharing of privileges appears toward the middle of the 17th century, if not before, to have excited a rebel spirit in the Fellows.

This is obvious from the fact that beginning in 1681 laws were passed by the Lodge of Edinburgh against the trespasses of the Fellows or Journeymen, who must have at or before that time advanced their claim to the possession of privileges which were denied to them.

"Though there can be no doubt," says Lyon, "that all who belonged to the Lodge were, when necessity required, participants in its benefits, the Journeymen appear to have had the feeling that it was not right that they should be entirely dependent, even for fair treatment, on the good-will of the Masters."

That was in fact but a faint picture of that contest for control between capital and labor, which we have since so often seen painted in much stronger colors. The struggle in the Freemasonry of Scotland came to a climax in the year 1708, when a petition was laid before the Lodge of Edinburgh from the Fellows. In this

document they complained that the Fellows were not permitted to inspect the Warden's accounts.

The Lodge listened favorably to the petition, and it was agreed that thereafter "six of the soberest and discretest Fellow-Craftsmen" should be appointed by the Deacon to oversee the Warden's accounts. The Lodge also granted further favors to the complaining brethren and permitted the Fellow-Crafts to have a part in the distribution of the charity fund to widows.

These concessions do not appear to have fully satisfied the Fellows. They, as Lyon supposes, must have been guilty of decided acts of antagonism which led the Lodge in 1712 to revoke the privilege of inspecting the accounts that had been conferred by the statute of 1708.

This seems to have brought matters to a crisis. At the same meeting the Fellow-Crafts who were present, except two, left the room. They immediately proceeded to organize a new Lodge known afterwards as the Journeymen's Lodge. Every attempt on the part of the Masters Lodge to check this spirit of hostility and to break up the independent Lodge, though renewed from time to time for some years, proved useless. The Journeymen's Lodge continued to exercise all the rights of a Lodge of Operative Freemasons, and to enter Apprentices and admit Fellows just as was done by the Masters Lodge from which it had so irregularly sprung.

Finally, in 1714, the most important and significant privilege of giving the "Mason Word" was allowed to the Lodge of Journeymen by a decree of Arbitration.

The Lodge, now perfected in its form and privileges, flourished, notwithstanding the occasional renewal of contests, until the organization of the Grand Lodge, when it became one of its constituents.

We think there can be no doubt that this independent action of the Journeymen Freemasons of Edinburgh led to an increase of Lodges, when the prestige and power of the incorporated Masters had been once shaken and successfully resisted. Twenty-four years after the founding of the Journeymen's Lodge we find no less than thirty-two Lodges uniting to organize the Grand Lodge of Scotland.

Another event of great importance in reference to the history of the Grand Lodge is now to be noticed. We refer to the process

through which the Freemasons of Scotland attained to the adoption of a Grand Master as the title of the head of their Order.

We deem it most probable that the Grand Lodge of Scotland was organized upon the model of that of England, which had sprung into existence nineteen years previously. As the English Grand Lodge had bestowed upon its presiding officer the title of Grand Master, it was very natural that the Scotch body, which had the use from it of a ritual and most of its other forms, should also receive from it the same title for its Masonic chief.

While we have no authentic records to show that previous to 1717 the English Freemasons had any General Superintendent, under any title whatever, it is known that the Scottish Fraternity had from an early period an officer who without the name exercised much of the powers and prerogatives of a Grand Master.

December 28, 1598, William Schaw enacted, or to use the expression in the original document, "sett down" certain "Statutes and Ordinances to be observed by all Master Masons" in the realm of Scotland. In the heading of these Statutes he calls himself "Master of Work to his Majesty and General Warden of the said Craft." A Minute of the Lodge of Edinburgh, of the date of 1600, names him as "Principal Warden and Chief Master of Masons."

Now in the Statutes and Ordinances just mentioned, as well as in a later code of laws, ordained in the following year, there is ample evidence that this General Warden exercised prerogatives very similar to those of a Grand Master. Indeed, his powers were in excess of those exercised by modern Grand Masters, though Lyon is quite correct in saying that the name and title were unknown in Scotland until the organization of the Grand Lodge in 1736.¹

There is the important fact that the Statutes were ordained by him and that the Craft willingly submitted to be governed by codes of laws at his will — that he required the election of Wardens by the Lodges to be referred to his scrutiny and to be confirmed by him, "that he assigned their relative rank to the Lodges of Edinburgh, of Kilwinning, and of Stirling," and that he delegated or "gave his power and commission" to the Lodges to make

¹ Except in 1731, when the Lodge of Edinburgh elected its presiding officer under the title of Grand Master. This was entirely local, and was soon dropped.

other laws which should be in conformity with his Statutes. All this in our opinion proves conclusively that if he did not assume the title of Grand Master of Freemasons of Scotland, William Schaw at all events exercised many of the prerogatives of such an office.

It is true that it is said in the preamble or introduction to the Statutes of 1598 that they are "sett down" (a term meaning "prescribed," made law) by the General Warden "with the consent of the Masters." But the acceptance of such consent was most likely a mere matter of courtesy, a concession due to fraternal politeness rather than of right. For the Statutes of 1599 are expressly declared in many instances to be "ordained by the General Warden," and in other items it is said that the law or regulation is enacted because "it is thought needful and expedient by the General Warden." All this shows that the Statutes were the result of the will of the General Warden and not of the Craft. That the Masters accepted them and consented to them in due course was very natural as a concession by necessity. There might have been a different record had they been unwilling to submit to the proposed laws and had they refused assent to regulations imposed upon them by their superior.

Therefore, though the theory of the existence of Grand Masters in Scotland under that distinctive title at a period before the organization of the Grand Lodge must be rejected as wholly unlikely, it can hardly be denied that William Schaw, under the title of General Warden, did at the close of the 16th century exercise many of the prerogatives of the office of Grand Master.

Schaw died in 1602, and with him most probably died also the peculiar prerogatives of a General Warden. But the Scottish Craftsmen were not on that account left without a head.

This leads us to the consideration of the St. Clair Charters. These are documents of undoubted worth but they have been used by Brewster in *Laurie's History*, under a false interpretation of the existence of the office of Grand Master of Freemasons in Scotland, from the time of James II. This theory, however, has turned out to be unsound, the foundation for it not justifying the claims.

There are two ancient manuscripts in the archives of the Grand Lodge of Scotland. These writings are known by the title

of the St. Clair Charters. The date of the first of these is supposed to be about the year 1601. That document is signed by William Schaw as Master of Work, and by the office-bearers of five different Lodges. The date of the other is placed by Lyon, with good reason, at 1628. It is signed by the office-bearers of five Lodges also.

The Advocates' Library of Edinburgh contains a small manuscript volume known as the "Hays manuscript" which comprises copies of these charters, not varying to any extent from the originals in the possession of the Grand Lodge.

The worth of these original manuscripts can not be denied. They appear genuine. Whatever we can derive from them in relation to the position assigned by the Scottish Craft to the St. Clairs of Roslin in the beginning of the 17th century will be of historical value.

With the aid of these Charters alone we may decide the long-contested question whether the St. Clairs of Roslin were or were not Hereditary Grand Masters of the Freemasons of Scotland, having a family right to the title handed down from father to son. The Editor of *Laurie's History of Freemasonry* asserts that these Charters supply the proof that the grant to William St. Clair as Hereditary Grand Master was made by James II. Bro. Lyon contends that the Charters furnish a denial at once complete and convincing of any such assertion.

The first of these opinions has for a long time been the most popular. The last, however, has under more recent researches been now generally adopted by Masonic experts. An examination of the precise wording of the two Charters will easily settle the question.

The first Charter, the date of which is 1601, states (that is if we turn the Scottish dialect into English phrase) that "from age to age it has been observed among us that the Lords of Roslin have ever been patrons and protectors of us and our privileges, and also that our predecessors have obeyed and acknowledged them as patrons and protectors, which within these few years has through negligence and slothfulness passed out of use."

This Charter goes on to say that in consequence of these lapses in conduct the Lords of Roslin have been deprived of their just rights and the Craft subjected to much injury by being "destitute of a patron, protector, and overseer." Among the evils com-

plained of is that various disputes had arisen among the Craftsmen for the settlement of which by the ordinary judges they were unable to wait because of their poverty and the long delays of legal processes.

The remedy for this sad state of things is surprising. From a Masonic view of the democracy we are supposed to maintain among the Fraternity one would not expect an autocracy to be proposed as a cure for the ills above mentioned. Yet note what follows in the Charter:

“Wherefore the signers of the Charter for themselves and in the name of all the Brethren and Craftsmen agree and consent that William St. Clair of Roslin shall for himself and his heirs purchase and obtain from the King liberty, freedom, and jurisdiction upon them and their successors in all time to come as patrons and judges of them and all the professors of their Craft within the realm (of Scotland) of whom they have power and commission.”

The powers thus granted by the Craft to the Lord of Roslin were very great. He and his heirs were to be acknowledged as patrons and judges, under the King, without appeal from their judgment, with the power to appoint one or more deputies. Moreover, the jurisdiction of the Lords of Roslin was to be as extensive and thorough as the King might please to grant to him and his heirs.

We learn that the second Charter was issued in 1628 by the Masons and Hammermen of Scotland. It repeats almost in the same words the story contained in the first Charter that the Lords of Roslin had ever been patrons and protectors of the Scottish Craft. There is an additional statement that there had been letters patent to the above effect issued by the forefathers of the King. We are also told that these papers of authority had been burnt with other writings in a fire which occurred within the Castle of Roslin in some year that is not specified in the Charter.

William St. Clair, to whom the previous Charter had been granted, went over to Ireland. During his absence the same evils complained of in the beginning of the century were renewed. The Craft now in this second Charter grants to Sir William St. Clair of Roslin the same powers and prerogatives that had been granted to his father, as their “only protector, patron, and overseer.”

The contents of these two Charters supply the following facts, which must be accepted as historical since there is no doubt of the documents being trustworthy.

In the first place there was a tradition in the beginning of the 17th century, and most probably this was in existence at the close of the 16th, if not earlier, that the St. Clairs of Roslin had in times long past exercised a supervising care and authority over the Craft of Scotland.

This superintendence they exercised as protectors, patrons, and overseers. Their oversight consisted principally in settling disputes and deciding controversies between the brethren without appeal, which disputes and controversies would otherwise have to be submitted to the decision of the usual court of law.

The tradition implied that this office of protectorate of the Craft was hereditary (descending from father to son) in the house of Roslin, but had not been exercised continuously and steadily, but on the contrary in the beginning of the 17th century, had been long disused.

True, there is no reference in the first Charter to any crown grant, at least in explicit terms. But it speaks of the Lord of Roslin as lying out of his "just right" by the interruption in the exercise of the prerogative of patron. If he had or was supposed to have such "just right," then the suggestion is strong that it was founded on a royal grant. The second Charter is very clear on this subject and asserts that the record of the grant had been destroyed by a fire. This statement is very probably a myth, but it shows that a tradition to that effect must have existed among the Craft.

The student may also surmise from the language of the first Charter that the Craft were in some doubt whether by this non-user the hereditary right had not been forfeited, since it is required by them that St. Clair should "purchase and obtain" from the King permission to exercise the jurisdiction of a patron and judge. In fact the sole object of the Charter was to authorize William St. Clair to get the royal authority to resume the prerogatives that had formerly existed and were exercised in his family. Whether the Craft were correct in this judgment, and whether by lying in idleness the hereditary right had lapsed and required a renewal by

the royal authority are not material questions. Sufficient is it for us that such was the opinion of the Scottish Freemasons at the time.

Lastly, the two Charters are of much historical importance in proving that at the time of their being issued, the title of Grand Master was wholly unknown to the Craft.

All these facts show that the editor of *Laurie's History* is entirely unsupported in his theory. Nevertheless, this conclusion he presents as an undoubted historical fact that the St. Clairs of Roslin were "Hereditary Grand Masters of Scotland."

Equally to be questioned is he in making Kilwinning, in Ayrshire, the seat of his mythical Grand Lodge. This we do not say for the reason as urged by Bro. Lyon, because the St. Clairs¹ had no territorial connection with Ayrshire. We submit the query simply because there is not the required historical evidence that Kilwinning was the center and headquarters of Scottish Freemasonry, though the lodge in that village had assumed the character of a Mother Lodge and issued Charters to subordinates.

The true historical phase which these Charters from our point of view seem to present is plainly this:

In the 17th century, or during a part of it, the Operative Freemasons of Scotland adopted the family of St. Clair of Roslin as their patrons and protectors, and as the umpires or arbitrators to whom they agreed to refer their disputes, accepting their decisions without appeal, as a much more convenient and economical method of settling disputes than a reference to a court of law would be. Out of this very simple fact has grown the romantic but apparently mythical theory, encouraged by fertile imaginations, that they were essentially Grand Masters by royal grant and hereditary right.

The immediate superintendence of the Scottish Freemasons, however, seems to have continued to be invested in a General Warden. When there was a secession of members in 1688 from the Lodge of Edinburgh, who established an independent Lodge in the Canongate, one of the charges against them was that they had "erected a Lodge among themselves to the great contempt of our Society, without any Royal or General Warden's authority."

¹ The modern spelling of the name is St. Clair, but the form of Sinclair agrees with the words of the Charter.

The St. Clairs were the patrons and the General Wardens were the Masters of Work. No reference was made to nor any word was said of the title or the prerogatives of a Grand Master.

The point, therefore, is historically certain that there never was a Grand Master in Scotland until the founding of the Grand Lodge in 1736. In fact from our modern understanding the one goes only with the other.

As early as the year 1600 we find the record of the admission of a non-professional into the Lodge of Edinburgh. The custom of admitting such persons as honorary members continued throughout the whole of the 17th century. Before the middle of that century, noblemen, baronets, physicians, and advocates are recorded in the Minutes as having been admitted as Fellow-Crafts. The evidence that at that time the Speculative element had begun to invade the Operative is not confined to the Minutes of the Lodge of Edinburgh. There are records proving that the same custom prevailed in other Lodges.

Much importance has rightly been attached to the fact that there is an authentic record of the admission of two gentlemen into an English Lodge of Operative Freemasons in the year 1646. There are numerous instances of such admissions before that time in Scottish Lodges. Indeed, it has been well proved by records that it was a constant habit, from about 1600, in the Scottish Lodges, to admit non-Masons into the Operative Lodges.

There ought not to be any doubt that the same practice prevailed in England at the same time. That there is no proof of the fact is to be fairly credited to the absence of early English Lodge Minutes. The Scottish Freemasons have been more careful than the English in preserving their records.

The Minutes of the Scottish Lodges, and the one authentic record contained in Ashmole's Diary, furnish sufficient evidence that in the 17th century the Operative Freemasons were admitting into their society men of wealth and rank, scholars, and members of the learned professions. This was undoubtedly the first step in that train of events which finally led to the complete parting of the theoretic from the practical element, and the organization of the present system of Speculative Freemasonry.

So far as we can learn the change from an Operative to a Speculative system was very sudden in England. At least, if the

change was gradual and foreseen, we can not now trace the progress of events because of the absolute lack of records.

The change was well marked in Scotland and its history is upon record. There the alteration was much slower than that in England. Not until nineteen years after the Grand Lodge of England was organized did a similar growth take place in Scotland. Whereas the English Lodges all assumed the Speculative character at once after the Grand Lodge was established, and abandoned Operative Freemasonry altogether, some of the Scottish Lodges, for many years after their connection with the Grand Lodge of Speculative Freemasonry, retained an Operative character mingled with the Speculative.

The closing years of the 17th century were marked in Scotland by contests between the Masters and the Journeymen Craftsmen, the former having long secured the controlling power. These differences led in the Lodge of Edinburgh to a secession of the Fellow-Crafts. They having been denied certain privileges, formed an independent Lodge. This body after some years of conflict with the Mother Lodge received by a decree of arbitration the power of admitting Apprentices and Fellow-Crafts and what appears to have been deemed of vast importance, the privilege of communicating the "Mason Word."

This seems to have been at that time the sum of esoteric or private instruction received by candidates on their admission.

Another cause of contest in Scottish Freemasonry at that period was the growing custom of receiving non-professional members into the Lodges of Operative Freemasons. This practice originated at least a century before that time. There are records in the 17th century from its very earliest years of the presence in the Lodges as members of persons who were not Operative Freemasons. But in the early part of the 18th century the practice grew to such an extent that at a meeting of the Lodge of Edinburgh in the year 1727, out of sixteen members present only three were Operative Freemasons. In the same year a lawyer was elected as the Warden or presiding officer of the Lodge.

During the year 1700 there were several Lodges in various parts of Scotland. Although perhaps all of them contained among

their members some persons of rank or wealth who were not Freemasons by profession, still the Lodges were all Operative in their character.

Seventeen years afterwards the English Operative Freemasons had merged their society into a Speculative Grand Lodge. The influence of this act was not slow to extend itself to Scotland, where the non-professionals began gradually but surely to lead and govern the professional workmen.

Dr. John Theophilus Desaguliers, who was the principal founder of the Grand Lodge of England, paid a visit in 1721 to Edinburgh. He was received as a brother by the Lodge, and at two meetings held for the purpose, several gentlemen of high rank were admitted into the Fraternity.

The records of these meetings are of historic importance, as showing the introduction of the new English system of Speculative Freemasonry into Scotland. Therefore we shall not hesitate to give them in the very words of the Minute-book, as copied from the original by Bro. Lyon.

"Likeas (likewise) upon the 25th day of the sd moneth (August, 1721) the Deacons, Warden, Masters, and several other members of the Societie, together with the sd Doctor Desaguliers having mett att Maries Chapell, there was a supplication presented to them by John Campbell Esqr. Lord Provost of Edinbr., George Preston and Hugh Hathorn, Bailies; James Nimo, Thesuarer, William Livingston Deacon convener of the Trades thereof; and George Irving Clerk to the Dean of Gild Court,— and humbly craving to be admitted members of the sd Societie; which being considered by them, they granted the desire thereof, and the saids honourable persons were admitted and receaved Entered Apprentices and Fellow-Crafts accordingly.

"And siclike (also) upon the 28th day of the said moneth there was another petition given in by Sr. Duncan Campbell of Locknell, Barronet; Robert Wightman Esqr., present Dean. of Gild of Edr.; George Drummond Esq., late Treasurer thereof; Archibald McAuley, late Bailly there; and Patrick Lindsay, merchant there, craveing the like benefit, which was also granted, and they (were) receaved as members of the societie as the other persons above mentioned. The same day, James Key and Thomas Aikman servants to James Wattson, deacon of the Masons, were

admitted and received Entered Apprentices and payed to James Mack, Warden the ordinary dues as such."

There can be no doubt that the object of Desaguliers in visiting Scotland at that time was to introduce into the Scottish Lodges the esoteric ritual so far as it had been perfected by himself and his colleagues for the Freemasons of England. Bro. Lyon very properly suggests that the proceedings of the Lodge on that occasion "render it probable that taking advantage of his social position, he had influenced the attendance of the Provost and Magistrates of Edinburgh and the other city magnates who accompanied them as applicants for Masonic fellowship in order to give a practical illustration of the system with which his name was so closely associated with a view to its commanding itself for adoption by the Lodges of Scotland."¹

Therefore, in these two meetings we see that the ceremonies of entering and passing were performed. In other words, the two new degrees of Entered Apprentice and Fellow-Craft, as practiced in the Grand Lodge of England, were introduced to the Scottish Freemasons.

The degree of Master was not conferred, and for this omission Bro. Lyon assigns a reason of most interesting character. His conclusion in the opinion of Bro. Mackey involved a historic error most strange to have been committed by so expert and skilled a Masonic scholar as the historian of the Lodge of Edinburgh and the translator of Findel's work.

Bro. Lyon's words are as follows: "It was not until 1722-23 that the English regulation restricting the conferring of the Third Degree to Grand Lodge was repealed. This may account for the Doctor confining himself to the two lesser degrees."²

The facts are that the regulation restricted the conferring of the Second as well as the Third degree to the Grand Lodge; that this regulation, instead of being repealed in 1722-23, was not officially issued until 1723, being first published in the Thirty-nine Articles contained in the *Book of Constitutions* of that date; and that it was not repealed until 1725.

The interesting Thirteenth Article of the 1723 *Book of Constitutions* begins as follows:

¹ Lyon, "History of the Lodge of Edinburgh," p. 152.

² Lyon, "History of the Lodge of Edinburgh," p. 153.

"At the said Quarterly Communication, all Matters that concern the Fraternity in general, or particular Lodges, or single Brethren, are quietly, sedately, and maturely to be discours'd of and transacted: Apprentices must be admitted Masters and Fellow-Craft only here, unless by a Dispensation."

The Grand Lodge of England on November 27, 1725, took the following action:

"A Motion being made that Such part of the 13th Article of the Gen.ll Regulations relating to the Making of Ma.rs only at a Quarterly Communication may be repealed. And that the Ma.rs of Each Lodge with the Consent of his Wardens, And the Majority of the Brethren being Ma.rs may make Ma.rs at their Discretion."

"Agreed, Nem. Con."¹

Bro. Mackey held that if it be said that the restriction existed before it was generally circulated, having been officially approved June 24, 1721, and was known to Desaguliers, it would have prevented him from conferring the Second as well as the Third degree.

However, as Bro. Mackey goes on to say, if the regulation was in force in England in 1721, which he had in an earlier chapter undertaken² to prove to be very doubtful, Desaguliers, in violating it so far as respected the Second degree, showed that he did not conceive that it was of any authority in Scotland, a country which was not under the jurisdiction of the Grand Lodge of England.

If so, the question arises, why did he not confer the Third degree at the same meeting?

The answer of Bro. Mackey is that the Third degree had not yet been worked into suitable form. He held that in the task of formulating a ritual for the new system of Speculative Freemasonry, Desaguliers, Anderson, and the others, if there were any who were engaged with them in the task, had, in 1721, proceeded no further than the making of the ritual of the First and Second

¹ Bro. W. J. Songhurst, Editor of the Reprinted "Minutes of the Grand Lodge of Freemasons, 1723-1739," says on page 64 of this valuable publication of the scholarly Lodge, "Quatuor Coronati," London: "Article xiii of the General Regulations forms the basis of much that has been written on the question of degrees. It is worthy of note that this alteration in the rule was made immediately after certain brethren who were members of a regular Lodge as well as of the *Philo Musicae Societas* had been summoned 'for making Masons irregularly.'"

² When treating of the origin of the three degrees.

degrees. These degrees only, therefore, he communicated to the Freemasons of Edinburgh¹ on his visit to the Lodge there. Later, when the Third degree had received its form, it was imparted to the Freemasons of Scotland. Of the precise time and manner of this communication we have no record, but we know that it took place before the Grand Lodge of Scotland was organized. Lyon says that the year 1735 is the date of "the earliest Scottish record extant of the admission of a Master Mason under the modern Masonic Constitution."²

But the reader must not overlook a point of special interest to us. Bro. Mackey does not mention another possibility permitted by the law. Bro. Desaguliers was a Freemason of the best official standing. He had been Grand Master and in later years held active office in the Grand Lodge. Just how far his authority extended on the trip to Scotland is not now of record but we may be sure that by actual Dispensation especially issued for that journey or by his general and inherent vested power possessed officially he lacked nothing to enable him lawfully to do all that he undertook at Edinburgh. He was not of the type to do otherwise. The 13th Article provides by Dispensation for the degrees being conferred outside of the Grand Lodge so that is one easy explanation of the point raised.

The visit of Dr. Desaguliers and the events connected with it develop at least two important points in the history of Scottish Freemasonry.

In the first place, we notice the great increase of non-professional members over the working Craftsmen. Six or seven years after that visit the Speculative element had gained the supremacy over the Operative. This led, in the second place, to the adoption of various forms indicative of the growing influence of Speculative Freemasonry, such as the change of the title of the presiding officer from "Warden" to that of "Master," and the substitution, in the language of the Craft, of the word "Freemason" for the formerly common one of "Mason."

From all this, and from certain proceedings in the years 1727, 1728, and 1729 connected with the contests between the Theo-

¹ The connection of this visit of Bro. Desaguliers to Edinburgh with the history of the making of the three degrees of Symbolic Freemasonry has already been discussed in a chapter devoted to that subject.

² "History of the Lodge of Edinburgh," p. 213.

retic and the Operative members of the Lodges, "it may be inferred," says Bro. Lyon, "that, departing from the simplicity of its primitive ritual and seizing upon the more elaborate one of its Southern contemporaries, and adapting it to its circumstances, the ancient Lodge of the Operative Masons of Edinburgh had, in a transition that was neither rapid nor violent, yielded up its dominion to Symbolical Masonry and become a unit in the great Mystic Brotherhood that had started into existence in 1717."¹

The next step that was naturally to be taken was the establishment of a Grand Lodge in close imitation in its form and Constitution of that of the similar body which had been previously instituted in the sister kingdom. The record of the events which led to this result is much more ample than the scanty details preserved by Anderson of the establishment of the Grand Lodge of England, so that we meet with no difficulty in writing the history.

We find that it had long been supposed, on the authority of the *History* credited to Laurie, that the Scottish Freemasons had been prompted to first think of the institution of a Grand Lodge because of a proposition made by William St. Clair of Roslin to resign his office of "Hereditary Grand Master." This is said to have been done in 1736. Lyon, however, denies the truth of this statement. He says that more than a year before the date at which St. Clair is alleged to have formally intimated his intention to resign the Masonic Protectorate, the creation of a Grand Mastership for Scotland had been mentioned among the brethren.²

The authentic history is perhaps to be found only in the pages of Lyon's *History of the Lodge of Edinburgh*. From that source we therefore do not hesitate to draw the material for the following account:

September 29, 1735, at a meeting of Canongate Kilwinning Lodge, a Committee was appointed for the purpose of "framing proposals to be laid before the several Lodges in order to the choosing of a Grand Master for Scotland." At another meeting, October 15th, the same Committee was instructed to "take under consideration proposals for a Grand Master."

On August 4, 1736, John Douglas, a surgeon and member of the Lodge of Kirkcaldy, was affiliated with the Lodge of Canon-

¹ "History of the Lodge of Edinburgh," p. 160.

² "History of the Lodge of Edinburgh," p. 167.

gate Kilwinning and appointed Secretary, that he might make out "a scheme for bringing about a Grand Master for Scotland." September 20th the Lodge was visited by brethren from the Lodge Kilwinning Scots Arms, who made certain proposals on the subject.

Evidently the matter was now ripening fast. On October 6th the Canongate Kilwinning Lodge met for the purpose, as its Minutes declare, of "concerting proper measures for electing a Grand Master for Scotland." Proposals were heard and agreed to. The four Lodges of Edinburgh were to hold a preliminary meeting, when proper measures were to be taken for accomplishing the desired object. Accordingly, delegates from the four Lodges, namely, Mary's Chapel, Canongate Kilwinning, Kilwinning Scots Arms, and Leith Kilwinning, met at Edinburgh on October 15, 1736.

Then and there it was resolved that the four Lodges in and about Edinburgh should meet in some convenient place to adopt proper regulations for the government of the Grand Lodge. These rules were to be sent with a circular letter to all the Lodges of Scotland. A day was also to be determined for the election of a Grand Master, when all Lodges which accepted the invitation were to be represented by their Masters and Wardens or their proxies.

The notice brought a sufficient number of Lodges together at the appointed time to institute a Grand Lodge and elect a Grand Master. This important circular deserves a place in these pages and is in the following words:

"Brethren: The four Lodges in and about Edinburgh, having taken into their serious consideration the great loss that Masonry has sustained through the want of a Grand Master, authorized us to signify to you, our good and worthy brethren, our hearty desire and firm intention to choose a Grand Master for Scotland; and in order that the same may be done with the greatest harmony, we hereby invite you (as we have done all the other regular Lodges known by us) to concur in such a great and good work, whereby it is hoped Masonry may be restored to its ancient luster in this kingdom. And for effectuating this laudable design, we humbly desire that betwixt this and Martinmas day next, you will be pleased to give us a brotherly answer in relation to the election

of a Grand Master, which we propose to be on St. Andrew's day, for the first time, and ever thereafter to be on St. John the Baptist's day, or as the Grand Lodge shall appoint by the majority of voices, which are to be collected from the Masters and Wardens of all the regular Lodges then present or by proxy to any Master Mason or Fellow Craft in any lodge in Scotland; and the election is to be in St. Mary's Chapel. All that is hereby proposed is for the advancement and prosperity of Masonry in its greatest and most charitable perfection. We hope and expect a suitable return; wherein if any Lodges are defective, they have themselves only to blame. We heartily wish you all manner of success and prosperity, and ever are, with great respect, your affectionate and loving brethren."

The above communication was accompanied by a printed copy of the regulations which had been proposed and agreed to at the meeting. By these regulations the Grand Master was to name the new Grand Wardens, Treasurer, and Secretary. But the nomination was to be unanimously approved by the Grand Lodge, and if it was not these officers were to be elected by ballot. The requirement of unanimity would be very certain to place the choice on most occasions in the Grand Lodge. The Grand Master was to appoint his own Deputy, provided he was not a member of the same Lodge. There were to be quarterly communications, at which the particular Lodges were to be represented by their Masters and Wardens with the Grand Master at their head. There was to be an annual visitation by the Grand Master with his Deputy and Wardens of all the Lodges in town. There was to be an annual feast upon St. John's day.

There were several other regulations, all of which were evidently copied from the Articles adopted in 1721 by the Grand Lodge of England and published in 1723 in the first edition of its *Book of Constitutions*.

Several meetings were held of the four Edinburgh Lodges, and finally, November 25, 1736, it was agreed that the election of Grand Master should take place in Mary's Chapel on Tuesday, November 30, 1736.

While these preliminary meetings were being held, a rivalry sprung up (as might have been expected from the nature of human ambitions) between two of the Lodges, in the choice of the

proposed Grand Master. The Lodge of Edinburgh nominated for that office the Earl of Home, one of its members. But the Canongate Kilwinning Lodge, really the starter of the movement for the institution of a Grand Lodge, was unwilling to surrender to another Lodge the honor of providing a ruler of the Craft.

William St. Clair, who notwithstanding the high claims advanced for his family does not appear to have taken any great and active interest in Freemasonry, had been received as an Apprentice and Fellow Craft only six months before (May 18, 1736) by the Canongate Kilwinning Lodge, and had been raised to the Third degree only eight days before the election. He was placed before the Fraternity by the Lodge of which he was a recent member, as a proper candidate for the Grand Mastership. The later details of the election will show that the Canongate Kilwinning Lodge availed itself of skillful strategy.

What Lyon calls "the first General Assembly of Scotch Symbolical Masons," according to agreement, was convened at Edinburgh on Tuesday, November 30, 1736. There were at that time in Scotland about one hundred particular Lodges. All of them were summoned to attend the convention, but only thirty-three were represented, each by its Master and two Wardens.

This scanty representation, only one-third of the Lodges having responded to the call, shows us that the interest in the legal organization of the Speculative system and the complete abandonment of the Operative had not been universally felt by the Scottish Craft. But we find in the method of conducting the meeting that the spirit and forms of the English Constitution had been freely accepted by those who were present.

The list of the Lodges uniting in the founding of a Grand Lodge is given both by Laurie's Editor and by Bro. Lyon, and it is here presented as an important part of the historical narrative. The Lodges present were as follows:

Mary's Chapel,	Dumfermling,
Kilwinning,	Dundee,
Canongate Kilwinning,	Dalkeith,
Kilwinning Scots Arms,	Aitcheson's Haven,
Kilwinning Leith,	Selkirk,

Kilwinning Glasgow,	Inverness,
Coupar of Fife,	Lesmahagoe,
Linlithgow,	St. Brides at Douglas,
Lanark,	Peebles,
Strathaven,	Glasgow St. Mungo's,
Hamilton,	Greenock,
Dunse,	Falkirk,
Kirkcaldy,	Aberdeen,
Journey Masons of Edinburgh,	Mariaburgh,
Kirkintilloch,	Canongate and Leith,
Biggar,	Leith and Canongate,
Sanquhar,	Montrose.

After the roll had been called, and the draft of the Constitution with the form of proceedings had been submitted and approved, St. Clair of Roslin tendered a document to the convention which was read as follows:

"I, William St. Clair of Roslin, Esquire, taking into my consideration that the Masons in Scotland, did, by several deeds, constitute and appoint William and Sir William St. Clairs of Roslin, my ancestors and their heirs to be their Patrons, Protectors, Judges or Masters; and that my holding or claiming any such jurisdiction, right or privilege might be prejudicial to the Craft and vocation of Masonry, whereof I am a member, and I being desirous to advance and promote the good and utility of the said Craft of Masonry, to the utmost of my power, do therefore hereby, for me and my heirs, renounce, quit claim, overgive and discharge all right, claim or pretence that I or my heirs, had, have or anyways may have, pretend to or claim, to be Protector, Patron, Judge or Master of the Masons in Scotland, in virtue of any deed or deeds made and granted by the said Masons, or of any grant or charter made by any of the Kings of Scotland, to and in favour of the said William and Sir William St. Clairs of Roslin, my predecessors; or any other manner or way whatsoever, for now and ever. And I bind and oblige me and my heirs to warrant this present renunciation and discharge at all hands. And I consent to the registration hereof in the books of Council and Session or any other judges' books competent, therein to remain for preservation, and thereto I constitute . . . my procurators, etc. In witness

whereof I have subscribed these presents (written by David Maul, Writer to the Signet) at Edinburgh, the twenty-fourth day of November, one thousand seven hundred and thirty-six years, before these witnesses, George Frazer, deputy auditor of the excise in Scotland, Master of the Canongate Lodge, and William Montgomery, Merchant in Leith, Master of the Leith Lodge."

This document was signed by W. St. Clair and attested by the two witnesses above mentioned. The reading of it at the opportune moment, just before the election of Grand Master was entered upon, was wise and generous. Whether he or his advisors anticipated the effect it would be far from kind for us to probe. The act was gracious and welcome. It resulted in the immediate election of William St. Clair as the first Grand Master of the Grand Lodge of Scotland.

As a legal instrument the document claiming to give up his ancestral rights by St. Clair is open to some question. Whatever prerogatives he may have supposed that he possessed as a Masonic "Protector, Patron, Judge and Master," referred exclusively to the Gild of Operative Freemasonry. We doubt if they could by any stretch of law have been extended to a voluntary association of Speculative Freemasons, the institution expressly intended to supplant the Operative organization whose design and character were cancelled and wiped out by the change from a practical art to a theoretical science, a trade to a philosophy.

The laws of Operative Freemasonry can be applied to Speculative Freemasonry only by a symbolic process. If the Lords of Roslin had even been the "Hereditary Grand Masters" of the stone-cutters and builders gathered in a Gild spirit in the Operative Lodges of Scotland, it did not follow that they were by such hereditary right the Grand Masters of the scholars and men of rank, the clergymen, physicians, lawyers, and merchants who, having no connection with or knowledge of the Craft of Freemasonry, had united to establish a society of an entirely different character.

However, from a critical point of view in reference to the traditional claims of the St. Clairs to the Hereditary Grand Mastership, this instrument of resignation is of great value.

But recently the historians of Freemasonry have begun to doubt the statement that James II. of Scotland conferred by patent the office of Grand Master on the Earl of Orkney, the ances-

tor of the St. Clairs, and on his heirs. Brewster boldly asserted it in the beginning of the 19th century. Although it has been doubted whether such patent was issued, the statement continues to be carelessly repeated.

We believe the language used by St. Clair in laying aside his title before the Grand Lodge of Scotland must set this question at rest. He refers not to any patent granted to his original ancestors the Earls of Orkney, but to the two Charters issued in 1601 and 1628. In these Charters it was not the King but the Freemasons themselves who had bestowed the office of patron and protector, first on William St. Clair and afterwards on his son.

James Maidment, Advocate, the learned Editor of Father Hay's *Genealogie of the Saint Claires of Roslyn*, comes to this conclusion in the words:

"Thus the granter of the deed, who it must be presumed was better acquainted with the nature of his rights than any one else could be, derives his title from the very persons to whom the two modern Charters were granted by the Masons; and in the resignation of his claim as patron, etc., exclusively refers to these two deeds or any 'grant or Charter made by the Crown,' not in favor of William Earl of Orkney, but of William and Sir William St. Clair, the identical individuals in whose persons the Masons had created the office of patron."

However, in the excitement of the moment when the stress of a first election was upon them the representatives of the Lodges were not prepared to enter into any such nice distinctions.

The timely act of Bro. St. Clair in thus of his own free will resigning his hereditary claims had so strongly appealing an influence that though many of them had been instructed by their Lodges to vote for another candidate, St. Clair was at once elected Grand Master with great unanimity.

The remaining offices in the Grand Lodge of Scotland were filled by the election of Capt. John Young as Deputy Grand Master; Sir William Baillie as Senior Grand Warden; Sir Alexander Hope as Junior Grand Warden; Dr. John Moncrief as Grand Treasurer; John Macdougal, Esq., as Grand Secretary; and Mr. Robert Alison, Writer, as Grand Clerk.

Upon the institution of the Grand Lodge nearly all the Lodges of the kingdom applied for Warrants of Constitution. They gave

up their former rights as Operative Lodges, acknowledging thereby the supreme jurisdiction of the Grand Lodge as the Head of Speculative Freemasonry in Scotland.

When we review the proceedings which finally led to the founding of a Speculative Grand Lodge in Scotland, several circumstances are especially worthy of remark.

We note that from a very early period, as far back as the close of the 16th century, theoretical Freemasons, or persons who were a part of the working Craft, had been admitted as members of the Operative Lodges. The custom of receiving non-professionals among the brethren was gradually extended. As a result of this practice we see that in the early years of the 18th century the non-professional members in some of the Lodges greatly exceeded the professional brethren.

The transition from Operative to Speculative Freemasonry was made of easy accomplishment in this way, so that when the Grand Lodge was established, several of the leading Lodges which were engaged in the act of organization were already Speculative Lodges in everything but the name.

There was another event exerting a great influence in hastening the change in Scotland. We refer to the visit of Dr. Desaguliers in the year 1721 to Edinburgh. He brought with him the ritual of Speculative Freemasonry, so far as it had then been formulated in England, and introduced it and the newly adopted English Lodges to Scotland.

Bro. Lyon refers to the formation of the Lodge Kilwinning Scots Arms in February, 1729, as one of the results of the Masonic communication between the northern and the southern capitals, which had been opened by this visit of Bro. Desaguliers. From the beginning it was a purely Speculative Lodge, all of its original members having been theoretical Freemasons, chiefly lawyers and merchants. It was one of the four Edinburgh Lodges which were engaged in the very first steps for the organization of the Grand Lodge.

Another instance is at hand as an evidence of how extensively the theoretical principle had spread, so that the scheme of abandoning the Operative character of the institution must have been easily effected. Of the twelve hundred brethren returned to the Grand Lodge as members of the several Lodges represented at the

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first election of officers in that body, one-half were persons not engaged in mechanical pursuits.¹

The influence of English Freemasonry is also seen in the fact that in the middle of the 17th century the English *Legend of the Craft* was known to and used by the Aitcheson's Haven Lodge of Musselburg and the Lodge of Edinburgh as well as other Scottish Lodges and was in all probability used in the initiation of candidates.

The two manuscripts which still remain in Scotland are known from their form and language to have been copies of some of the old English Records of the "Legend" and "Charges." Therefore, no better evidence than the use of them by Scottish Lodges could be needed or desired to prove that the English Freemasonry had been constantly from the 17th century exerting a molding influence upon the Craft in Scotland which finally wound up in the organization of the Grand Lodge.

Finally, the Grand Lodge of Scotland presents an important and marked peculiarity in the cause and manner of its institution.

The first Grand Lodge of Speculative Freemasons ever established was the Grand Lodge of England, organized in the year 1717 at London. From this Grand Lodge every other Grand Lodge in the world, with one exception, has directly or indirectly proceeded. That is to say, the Grand Lodge of England established in foreign countries either Lodges which afterward uniting, became Grand Lodges, or it constituted Provincial Grand Lodges, which, in the course of time and through political changes, assumed independence and became national supreme bodies in Freemasonry.

But however instituted as Grand Lodges, they derived, remotely, the authority for their legal existence from the Grand Lodge of England. As a result that venerable and most substantial body has very properly been called the "Mother Grand Lodge of the World."

The single exception to this otherwise universal rule is found in the Grand Lodge of Scotland. Of all Grand Lodges it alone has derived no authority from the English body for its constitution. The Scottish Lodges existed at the same time with the English. At a very early period they admitted non-professional members.

¹ Lyon, "History of the Lodge of Edinburgh," p. 176.

They began at the very outset of the 18th century to take the first steps for their conversion from an Operative to a Speculative character. They were undoubtedly influenced by the English Freemasons as an example at least in favoring this change. The brethren in England about the same time had begun to consider the wisdom of a similar conversion.

While the Scottish Lodges, in organizing their Grand Lodge, were undoubtedly led to take the necessary steps by the previous action of the English Lodges, and while they borrowed freely of the forms and generally imitated the example of their English brethren, they derived from them no authority or Warrant of Constitution.

The Freemasonry of Scotland produced from its own Operative Lodges its Speculative Grand Lodge, precisely as was the case with the Freemasonry of England. In this respect it has differed from the Freemasonry of every other country where the Operative element never merged into the Speculative. The latter was always a direct and independent importation from the Speculative Grand Lodge of England, wholly distinct from the Operative Freemasonry existing at the same time.

CHAPTER EIGHTY-FIVE

THE ATHOLL¹ GRAND LODGE, OR THE GRAND LODGE OF ENGLAND ACCORDING TO THE OLD INSTITUTIONS



O more important event has occurred in the history of English Freemasonry than the rivalry of the two Grand Lodges at London. For many years the harmony of the Fraternity was most seriously affected. Bitterness and resentment were soon and for long features of the antagonism. The true position of the parties was speedily lost to sight or misjudged because of the mutual distrust and strife. Out of the situation there emerged finally a strong sentiment for unity. Coöperation came about most happily. Today the organization seems all the more closely knitted together by reason of the upheaval of the 18th century.

Easily was it the greatest as well as the first disturbing factor between Grand Lodges. The entrance of a new and rival authority in the north of England by the self-constitution of a Grand Lodge at the city of York in the year 1725, seems to have created no trouble, save in its immediate locality, to the Grand Lodge at London. The sphere of its operations was long limited to its own home. Not until nearly half a century after its organization did it seek, by traveling beyond those narrow limits, to antagonize in the south of the kingdom the jurisdiction of the body at London.

But the difference which commenced at London about the middle of the 18th century, and to the history of which this chapter is devoted, was far more important in its effects, not only on the progress of Speculative Freemasonry in England, but also in other countries.

¹ The word is sometimes spelled "Athol" and "Athole," the last being that of a district in the north of Perthshire, Scotland, and the head of the Murray family being the Duke of Athole, the Grand Lodge called after one of that house might properly be so named in writing the title. Although we find that in the Minutes of the Grand Lodge of England for April 17, 1735, among those present was the Duke of Athol. See Quatuor Coronati Lodge "Reprint," p. 252.

A second Grand Lodge, which in the year 1751 was organized as a successful rival and antagonist of the earlier Grand Lodge of England, has received various names in the course of its career. Styling itself officially the "Grand Lodge of England according to the Old Institutions," it was also called in common speech, the "Grand Lodge of Antients,"¹ both titles conveying the impression of an older system of Freemasonry than that practiced by the other Grand Lodge, which had been in existence only since 1717. Upon that later system, as it was asserted to be, the members of the Grand Lodge of Antients bestowed the name of the "Grand Lodge of Moderns." Later writers have been accustomed to briefly distinguish the two rival bodies as the "Moderns" and the "Antients"; without, however, any admission on the part of the former of the legal fitness of the terms, but simply for the sake of avoiding tedious, lengthy terms.

Another and a very common title bestowed upon the more recent body was that of the "Atholl Grand Lodge," because the Dukes of Atholl, father and son, presided over it for many successive years. It has also been sometimes called the "Dermott Grand Lodge," in allusion to Laurence Dermott,² who was once its Deputy Grand Master, and for a long time its Grand Secretary. He was its most able defender, and the compiler of its *Ahiman Rezon*, or Book of Constitutions.

In the present sketch this body will, for convenience, be distinguished as the "Atholl Grand Lodge," and its members as the "Antients." We can do this without, however, the idea of conceding to them or to their Grand Lodge the correctness of their claim for a greater antiquity than that which is usually credited to the Grand Lodge established in 1717.

¹ Bro. W. M. Bywater, "Notes on Lau. Dermott, G.S.," prefers the older "Antients," while Bro. Henry Sadler, "Masonic Facts and Fictions," uses "Ancients." Dermott himself seems to have preferred the modern spelling.

² Laurence Dermott, born 1720, initiated in Ireland in 1740, filled all the Lodge offices, including that of Secretary and installed W. M. of No. 26, Dublin, June 24, 1746. Same year he became a Royal Arch Mason and went to London. There it has been claimed he joined a "Modern" Lodge in 1748 but no record has been disclosed of it. At the time he was elected Grand Secretary, 1752, he was a member of Nos. 9 and 10 Lodges of the "Antients" and ranked as a Past Master of No. 26, Ireland. Grand Secretary from 1752 to 1771, he became Deputy Grand Master in the latter year and continued until 1777; again appointed in 1783 he served to 1787 and died, 1791. Beginning life as a journeyman painter he rose to a position where he could make substantial gifts to his Grand Lodge. Laboring most zealously he has given the Institution the permanent impress of a powerful and constructive personality.

The progress of the competition or the rift, or both, whichever it may be, that ended in the organization of the Atholl Grand Lodge was not very rapid. As far back as 1739, complaints were made in the Grand Lodge of "Modernes" against certain brethren, who, as Entick gently phrases it, were "suspected of being concerned in an irregular making of Masons."¹ But the inquiry into this matter was postponed.

The Quarterly Communication held later in the same year renewed the inquiry. The offending brethren having made submission and promised good behavior, they were pardoned. But it was ordered by the Grand Lodge that the laws should be strictly enforced against any brethren who should for the future countenance or assist at any irregular makings.²

The language of Entick is not sufficiently clear. It authorizes us to suppose either that the pardon granted by the Grand Lodge was conditioned and following on the submission of the offenders which had been made before the pardon was given, or that it was only a promise and depended on their making that submission.

Some offenders may have made the submission and received the pardon. But the cure was by no means complete, for Noorthouck³ tells us that the censure of the Grand Lodge irritated the brethren who had incurred it. These, instead of returning to their duty and correcting their error, persisted in their offences and openly refused to pay allegiance to the Grand Master or obedience to the orders of the Grand Lodge.

"In contempt of the ancient and established laws of the Order," says Noorthouck, "they set up a power independent, and taking advantage of the inexperience of their associates, insisted that they had an equal authority with the Grand Lodge to make, pass, and raise Masons."

In the note, whence this passage is taken, and in which Noorthouck has committed several errors, he has evidently anticipated the course of events. Evidently he has mixed up the "irregular makings" by private Lodges which began about the year 1739, with the establishment of the Grand Lodge of "Antients" which did not take place until about 1751.

¹ Entick, "Book of Constitutions," p. 228.

² Entick, "Book of Constitutions," p. 229.

³ Noorthouck, "Book of Constitutions," p. 240, note.

Bro. Mackey and many other Masonic students believed this body of disaffected Freemasons to have been the original source whence in the course of later years sprang the organized Grand Lodge of the "Antients." Another and more recent theory is that there is no evidence yet brought to light which would justify one in believing that any considerable number of them ever owed allegiance to the regular Grand Lodge of England.¹ Of the grounds for these conclusions we shall consider in due course as we proceed. At present we need but say that the "Seceders" would naturally join forces with a competing Grand Lodge. Thus both claims, the one of a "Seceding" influence, the other of a group of Irish Freemasons striving for a separate body, have some basis.

Whatever the foundation, the process of organization was slow. For some time the unruly brethren continued to hold their Lodges independently of any supreme authority. Nor is it possible, from any records now existing, to determine the exact year in which the Grand Lodge of "Antients" assumed a positive existence.

Preston tells us that the brethren who had defied the authority of the Grand Lodge of "Moderna" held meetings in various places for the purpose of initiating persons into Freemasonry contrary to the laws of the Grand Lodge.²

This author, Preston, also says that they took advantage of the breach which had been made between the Grand Lodges of London and York and that they assumed the title of "York Masons." This does not tell the whole story. There was never any recognition by the London Grand Lodge of the body calling itself the Grand Lodge of York, nor was that Grand Lodge in active existence at the time, having suspended its labors from 1745 to 1761.

The name of "York Masons" was derived from the old tradition in the *Legend of the Craft*, that the first Grand Lodge in England was founded by Prince Edwin in 926 at the city of York.

Noorthouck assigns this reason for the title when he says that "under a fictitious sanction of the Antient York Constitutions, which was dropped at the revival of the Grand Lodge in 1717, they presumed to claim the right of constituting Lodges."³

¹ Henry Sadler, "Masonic Facts and Fictions," London, 1887.

² Preston, "Illustrations," p. 210, Oliver's edition.

³ Noorthouck, "Constitutions," p. 240, note.

The Grand Lodge at London, the "Moderna," now committed an act of folly, the effects of which remain to the present day. Desiring to exclude the independent Freemasons from their Lodges, it made a few changes in the ritual by transposing certain significant words in the lower degrees, and inventing a new one for the Third.

The opportunity of raising the cry of innovation (a word always disliked by the Masonic mind) was not lost. Availing themselves of it, the one party began to call themselves "Antient Masons," and derided the members of the opposing Lodges as "Modern Masons," thus proclaiming that they alone preserved the old usages of the Craft, while the others had invented and adopted new ones.

The use of the words became objectionable, not the words. For these had long been used as proper terms. Dr. Anderson, on p. 133 of the *Constitutions* of 1738 speaks of "the Grand Masters and Wardens antient and modern."¹ Dermott and his associates very skillfully took advantage of the situation to use words already having well defined and favored meanings among the opponents of his Grand Lodge.

Today, when the turmoil of passion has long ceased to exist, and when the whole Fraternity of English Freemasons is united under one system, it is impossible to weigh all the evil effects arising from this measure of innovation adopted by the Grand Lodge.

Had it made no change in ritual, but confined itself to the exercise of discipline according to constitutional methods, provided by its own laws, probably the irregular Lodges would have received little help from the great body of the Craft. As they would have had no defence for their course, except their objection to the severity of the Grand Lodge Regulations, that could have been easily met by showing that the rules were rigid only because obedience and loyalty were necessary to the very existence of the institution.

Without any justification of their unruly conduct, the offenders would by the general disfavor of the wiser portion of the Fraternity, have been compelled in the course of time to give up

¹ See "Masonic Facts and Fictions," chapter vi, where Bro. Henry Sadler gives several examples of the early use of the words by Masonic writers and also of the ritualistic changes we have already mentioned.

their independent and irregular Lodges and to unite under the 1717 Grand Lodge of England.

But the charge that the landmarks had been invaded and that innovations on the ancient usages had been introduced, had a wonderful effect in giving strength to the cause of those who thus seemed in their protest to be only defenders of the old ways.

"Antiquity," says one who Bro. Mackey avers was himself an Antient York Mason,¹ "is dear to a Mason's heart; innovation is treason, and saps the venerable fabric of the Order."²

Thus the independents, instead of retaining their allegiance to the old Grand Lodge, persisted in their course, and made new converts, sometimes of individuals and sometimes of entire Lodges which were attracted by their claim of antiquity. At length the insurgents resolved to acquire permanent life and authority by the establishment of a Grand Lodge to which they gave the imposing name of "The Grand Lodge of England according to the Old Institutions."

The founders of the new Grand Lodge were not immune to the charge of innovating on the landmarks. One alteration in the existing ritual favored and followed by them was fully as important as any mere exchange of passwords. This innovation was extended into foreign countries because of the influence of the Grand Lodge of the "Antients." But it was also the choice of the Grand Lodge of the "Moderna," and at the union of the rival Grand Lodges at London in 1813 was adopted. The introduction and general adoption of this feature has entirely changed the whole system of Freemasonry from that which existed in the pioneer days of the Grand Lodge of England.

This innovation consisted in a remodeling of the Third degree or "Master's Part," and the working out of a Fourth degree, now known to the Fraternity as the Royal Arch.

¹ Bro. W. J. Hughan writes to us as follows in comment upon this expression: "The York Masons who revived their Grand Lodge in 1761 had never any dealings with the 'Antients,' and consequently the latter had no right to style themselves 'Antient York Masons.' The York Grand Lodge never warranted any Lodges out of England, and so the Lodges chartered in the United States by the 'Atholl Masons' were not 'A. Y. M.' (Antient York Masons), but 'Antient' or 'Atholl Masons.' "

² Dalcho, "Ahiman Rezon of South Carolina," second edition, p. 191. Frederick Dalcho, born 1770, served as a doctor in the American army, then studied for the ministry and at death was pastor of St. Michael's Episcopal Church at Charleston, S. C. He did much to unite the "Antient" and "Modern" bodies of his State in 1817, edited the Code of laws we have quoted, and served Freemasonry in many ways with ability and devotion.

"The chief feature in the new ritual," says Bro. W. J. Hughan, "consisted in a division of the Third degree into two sections, the second of which was restricted to a few Master Masons who were approved as candidates and to whom the peculiar secrets were alone communicated."¹

From the year 1723 and onward throughout the 18th century and the early portion of the 19th the Grand Lodge of "Mod-
erns" officially knew only three degrees. The adoption of a Fourth
degree by the Grand Lodge of "Antients" gave to that body a
popularity which it probably would not otherwise have obtained.
"Many gentlemen," says Bro. Hughan, in the work just cited,
"preferred joining the 'Grand Lodge of Four Degrees,' to asso-
ciating with the society which worked only three."

We are further indebted to Bro. W. J. Hughan for a communica-
tion to us in which he says:

"The Royal Arch degree was not started by these 'Antients'
but only adopted by them as an authorized ceremony. In self-
defence the 'Mod-
erns,' who had worked it before the origin of the
'Atholl Masons,' but not officially, gradually gave it more prom-
inence. In 1767 they formed a Grand Chapter of Royal Arch
Masons and issued Warrants for Chapters, pushing the degree
more even than the 'Antients,' though not recognized by their
Grand Lodge; so at the union of the two Grand Lodges in Decem-
ber, 1813, the way was prepared for the inauguration of the
'United Grand Chapter' in 1817, the ceremony being adopted as
the completion of the Master Mason's ceremony, not as a separate
and independent degree."

Hence, in 1813, the two rival bodies entered into a union pro-
ducing the present Grand Lodge of England, the "Mod-
erns" agreed to extend their official ritual of three degrees, and to accept
that of the "Antients." The second article of the Compact reads,
"It is declared and pronounced, that pure Antient Masonry con-
sists of three degrees, and no more; viz., those of the Entered
Apprentice, the Fellow Craft, and the Master Mason, including
the Supreme Order of the Holy Royal Arch. But this article is
not intended to prevent any Lodge or Chapter from holding a
meeting in any of the degrees of the Orders of Chivalry, accord-
ing to the Constitutions of the said Orders."

¹ "Memorials of the Masonic Union," p. 6 of 1913 edition, Leicester, England.

This was evidently a compromise. Such compromises usually indicate some previous attempt by force to bring about uniformity. Finding the attempt useless, the situation was met by agreeing that there were but three degrees yet the "Supreme Order of the Holy Royal Arch" was included and the Orders of Chivalry permitted to be worked by the subordinate bodies. Under so broad a ruling a large amount of freedom could be exercised in the practice of degrees and thus the system of ritual extension and division officially discouraged but allowed by "Moderna" and flourishing among "Antients" received a firmer and permanent footing by the above declaration of the happily united Grand Lodges.

Before the actual organization of the Grand Lodge of "Antients" under a Grand Master the brethren of the various Lodges appear to have combined under the title of the "Grand Committee." This body, it would seem, later became the Grand Lodge.

Our earliest preserved record of the transactions of this Committee has the date of July 17, 1751.¹ On that day there was an Assembly of Antient Masons at the "Turk's Head Tavern," in Greek Street, Soho, London, when the Masters of seven Lodges recognizing the Grand Committee as their head,² namely, Lodges Nos. 2, 3, 4, 5, 6, and 7, "were authorized to grant Dispensations and Warrants and to act as Grand Master."

Out of this unusual and irregular authority conferred upon all the Masters of Private Lodges to act as Grand Master came the Constitution in the same year of a Lodge, No. 8, at the "Temple and Sun," Shire Lane, Temple Bar. This appears to have been the first Warrant issued by the Antients.

The Warrant is in favor of James Bradshaw, Master, and Thomas Blower and R. D. Guest, Wardens. It is signed by the Masters of Lodges Nos. 3, 4, 5, and 6. This would imply that the authority and prerogatives of a Grand Master were conferred not upon each Master, individually, but upon them collectively, or at least upon a majority of them. These Masters were a body which in its exercise of the prerogatives of a Grand Master resem-

¹ Given by Bro. Robert Freke Gould in his "Atholl Lodges" (p. 2), to which work we are also indebted for further valuable information from the "Atholl Records."

² Bro. Gould thinks this "Grand Committee," which developed into a Grand Lodge, was no doubt originally the senior private Lodge of the Antients. See "Atholl Lodges," Preface, p. ix.

bles the "Council of the Order" into which the Grand Orient of France merged its Grand Mastership, though the mode of organization of the latter body somewhat differs from that of the former.

This "Grand Committee," whose presiding officer was called the "President," continued to exercise the functions of a Grand Lodge without the name. Just as in like manner the Grand Lodge sometimes acted later on, after its formal organization, as a Grand Committee.¹ In 1751 it granted Warrants for two Lodges, numbered 9 and 10; in 1752 it constituted five more, numbered 11, 12, 13, 14, and 15.

In its legislation the Grand Committee refers to No. 2 as its oldest Lodge. But in the list of Atholl Lodges given by Bro. Gould, No. 1 is stated to have been called the "Grand Master's Lodge," and its Warrant is dated August 13, 1759. In 1751 and 1752 it could not have borne this title. During those years there was no Grand Master of the "Antients." Bro. Mackey believed it was probably the senior Lodge, the first to secede from the Grand Lodge, and with which Nos. 2, 3, 4, 5, 6, and 7 united. His opinion was that these were Lodges which on account of irregularities had been stricken from the roll of the Grand Lodge of England, and assuming the name of "Antient Masons," enrolled themselves under the lead of the oldest of their companions.

If we adopt the views of Brothers Gould and Mackey this older Lodge appears to have been the founder body known at first as the "Grand Committee" and which, some time after the organization of a Grand Lodge, received the title of "The Grand Master's Lodge" and the precedence of Lodges as No. 1.

We can explain by this means why of the seven Lodges engaged during 1751 in the work of the "Antients," no mention is made of No. 1. Upon No. 2, with the five other Lodges of later numbers, was conferred the functions of a Grand Master and the power of warranting Lodges, while no mention is made of No. 1.

¹ See "Notes on Lau: Dermott G. S." by W. M. Bywater, P. M. No. 19, London, p. 47, "A Grand Lodge of Emergency was held in March, 1784, Dermott in the Chair, and sundry matters were discussed and disposed of. The Lodge then resolved itself into a Grand Committee, and Br. Dickey took the Chair." Bro. Bywater's excellent little book also shows, p. 22, the Minute of a meeting of the "Antients," at the "Bells," November 6, 1754, when it was resolved to call the Committee of Charity, henceforth, "The Stewards Lodge." The freedom of these changes throws much light on the problem.

Bro. Gould says: "The 'Grand Committee' of the 'Antients,' which subsequently developed into their 'Grand Lodge,' was, no doubt, originally their senior Private Lodge, whose growth, in this respect, is akin to that of the Grand Chapter of the 'Moderns,' which, commencing in 1765 as a Private Chapter, within a few years assumed the general direction of the R. A. Masonry, and issued Warrants of Constitution."¹

But there is another and equally reasonable explanation of this peculiar situation. The patient and thorough researches of Bro. Henry Sadler, *Masonic Facts and Fictions*, show that very many of the "Antients," like Bro. Dermott himself, were Irish by nationality and by membership in the Craft. We may look to Irish Masonic practice, rather than to a willful tendency to make innovations, for a satisfactory light to clear up this angle of the case.

Bro. Sadler says: "At the outset the 'Antients' had not a No. 1 Lodge on their list, that number being probably reserved for a 'Grand Masters Lodge,' when they should arrive at the dignity of having an official of that calibre to preside over them. This from our present standpoint may seem rather a strange proceeding, but as a matter of fact they were in a manner copying the example of the Grand Lodge of Ireland, wherein the following order had been made on the 3rd of January, 1749, the Grand Officers having recently formed a Lodge for themselves:²

"That a Registry be opened in the Front of the Grand Register Book for the said Lodge, and that the same shall henceforth be distinguished and known by the denomination of the Grand Masters Lodge; and that all, or any of the members thereof, who does at any time think proper to visit the Grand Lodge, shall take place of every other Lodge on the Registry, or Roll Books of this Kingdom."³

Following this example we naturally expect a place to be left for a similar Lodge which would be formed when a suitable Grand Master had consented to serve and the organization of a Grand Lodge to be completed with a corps of Officers succeeding the Grand Committee.

¹ "Atholl Lodges," Preface, p. ix.

² "Masonic Facts and Fictions," p. 122.

³ "Spratt's Constitutions," Dublin, 1751.

Of this Grand Committee John Morgan was in 1751 the Secretary. He appears to have been lax in the performance of his duties. His successor, Laurence Dermott, elected Grand Secretary, February 5, 1752, reported that he had received "no copy or manuscript of the Transactions" from Morgan, and did not believe that that officer had ever kept a book of records. This neglect obscures the early history of the "Antients."

The "Grand Lodge of England, according to the old Institutions," appears to have been formally organized as a Grand Lodge on December 5, 1753, for on that day Robert Turner, the Master of Lodge No. 15, was elected "to fill the G. Master's Chair for six months," Bro. William Rankin was chosen Deputy, Bros. Samuel Quay and Lachlan McIntosh as Senior and Junior Grand Wardens, all of whom were "also instal'd and saluted according to Antient Usuage." Laurence Dermott, then the Grand Secretary, continued in office until the year 1771.

Any sketch of the Grand Lodge of "Antients" must give to Dermott more than an incidental notice. First as Grand Secretary, and afterwards as Deputy Grand Master, he gave to the scheme of organizing a new body rivaling that of the established Freemasons, an attraction securing for it an extraordinary popularity. We can not deny to him the reputation of being the best informed and the most energetic worker of all the disciples of the so-called "Antient" Freemasonry. In the earliest years of the Grand Lodge of "Antients" we look in vain for the name of any officer or member distinguished for social rank or literary reputation. We do not find such scholars as Anderson or Payne or Desaguliers. Dermott was the only star in its firmament, but his brilliance shone all the more brightly by contrast with the obscurity of his associates.

In some well written "Studies of Masonic History," published in Mackey's *National Freemason*, Bro. J. F. Brennan has thus described the successful efforts of Dermott to establish the popularity of his Grand Lodge:

"The history of that period, so far as concerns Laurence Dermott's strenuous and persistent determination to establish upon a firm foundation his Grand Lodge, has, except in slight degree, never been published, if it has ever been written. Enough to say, that notwithstanding the most earnest antagonism mani-

fested towards him by the 1717 organization, or its then succession, he triumphantly did succeed, and not only divided the profits of Grand Lodgeism with the earlier organization in London but as well led the Grand Lodges of Ireland and Scotland to believe that the 1717 organization was a spurious body and therefore unworthy of recognition by those Grand Lodges while his Grand Lodge was really and properly the true Grand Lodge of English Freemasons. And not only did he thus succeed, but he also induced Freemasons in the then British American Colonies, which subsequently became the United States, particularly in Pennsylvania, Massachusetts, New York, North Carolina, Virginia and South Carolina, to believe that in his Grand Lodge of Ancient York Masons, alone, was true Freemasonry extant; and so well did he succeed that while in several of those colonies he established under his Charter lodges assuming to be Grand Lodges, in Pennsylvania, notably, he induced all the Lodges there already and for several years established to surrender their Charters and accept from him Charters preferably, and as authority for their practice of what he designated the real Ancient York and only true Masonry recognized or properly recognizable, and his *Ahiman Rezon*, a plagiaristic adaptation of the 1723¹ publication of Anderson, the only correct 'Book of Masonic Constitutions.'"²

We know but little of Bro. Dermott, save what we derive from his connection with the body which he served so faithfully. Unlike Anderson and Desaguliers and Payne and Foulkes and other lights of the rival Grand Lodge, he wrote nothing and did nothing, outside of Freemasonry, to serve as a memorial.

It is undeniable that Dermott was a man of some education. Bro. Gould says³ that "besides English and his native Irish, Dermott seems to have been conversant with the Jewish tongue. All the books kept by him as Grand Secretary are plastered over with Hebrew characters, and the proceedings of the Stewards Lodge record, under date of March 21, 1764, 'Heard the petition of G. J. Strange, an Arabian Mason, with whom the Grand

¹ Bro. Brennan probably meant to refer to the 1738 and not the 1723 edition of Anderson's "Constitutions."

² Mackey's *National Freemason*, Washington, 1872, vol. i, p. 302.

³ Mentioned in the *Keystone*, November 6, 1880.

Secretary conversed in the Hebrew language.”” The *Ahiman Rezon*, while the title indicates a smattering at least of Hebrew, gives several proofs that Dermott was a man of some reading. While not a profound scholar, he was far from illiterate.

Installed as Master of No. 26, Dublin, Ireland, Bro. Dermott became the same year a Royal Arch Mason, later he came to London. We find in the second edition of his *Book of Constitutions* or *Ahiman Rezon*, pages xxiv–xxxiii, an “Address to the Reader,” from which we quote thus:

“Several eminent Craftsmen residing in Scotland, Ireland, America, and other parts both abroad and at home, have greatly importuned me to give them some account of what is called modern Masonry in London. I cannot be displeased with such importunities, because I had the like curiosity myself, about sixteen or seventeen years ago, when I was first introduced into that Society. However, before I proceed any further concerning the difference between antient and modern, I think it my duty, to declare solemnly before God and man, that I have not the least antipathy against the gentlemen members of the modern Society.”

The third edition contained a note qualifying to some extent this expression of respect. But the principal point to which we would call attention are the references to the time when he became a member of the “Moderns.” We are unable to read his statement in any other way. His mention of the elapsed time fixes the date as 1747 or 1748 and this also throws light upon the problem as to when he came to England. Thus we limit the period to within a couple of years.

At the time of his election as Grand Secretary, 1752, Bro. Dermott was on record as a member of Lodges Nos. 9 and 10 of the “Antients.”

He was appointed Deputy Grand Master on March 2, 1771, by John, the third Duke of Atholl, who had just been elected Grand Master. On December 27, 1777, he resigned that position, and at his request W. Dickey was appointed as his successor by the fourth Duke of Atholl. He was again appointed Deputy in March, 1783, and was, at his own request, succeeded, on December 27, 1787, by the Junior Grand Warden, James Perry, who was appointed by the Earl of Antrim, Grand Master at that time.

Bro. Dermott practically officiated as Deputy Grand Master from 1771 to 1787, the intervals between appointments not interfering with his presiding with great regularity. Dermott's last appearance in the Grand Lodge was on March 4, 1789.

During this long period Laurence Dermott was untiring in his devotion to the "Grand Lodge of England according to the Old Institutions," and to what was called "Antient York Masonry."

Six years after its organization the Grand Lodge established in 1717 had prepared and published a *Book of Constitutions*. Dermott felt it necessary that his own Grand Lodge should also have a code of laws for its government. Accordingly, in 1756 he published the Constitutions of the Grand Lodge of which he was the Grand Secretary, under the following title:

Ahiman Rezon: | Or | a Help to a Brother; | Showing the Excellency of Secrecy | And the first Cause, or Motive, of the Institution of | Freemasonry; | the Principles of the Craft, | And the Benefits arising from a Strict Observance thereof; | What Sort of Men ought to be initiated into the Mystery, | And what sort of Masons are fit to govern Lodges, | With their Behaviour in and out of the Lodge. | Likewise the Prayers used in the Jewish and Christian Lodges, | The Antient Manner of | Constituting new Lodges, with all the Charges, &c. | Also the | Old and New Regulations, | The Manner of Chusing and Installing Grand-Master and Officers, | and other useful Particulars too numerous here to mention. | To which is added, | The greatest Collection of Masons Songs ever presented to | Public View, with many entertaining Prologues and Epilogues; | Together with | Solomon's Temple an Oratorio, | As it was performed for the Benefit of | Free-Masons. | By Brother Laurence Dermott, Sec. | London: | Printed for the Editor and sold by Brother James Bedford, at the Crown in St. Paul's Church-Yard. | MDCCLVI. |

Other editions, with the title much shortened, were published later, the last by Thomas Harper in 1813, the year before the union of the two Grand Lodges.

The third edition, published in 1778, has a very brief title: *Ahiman Rezon: or a Help to all that are, or would be Free and Accepted Masons, with many Additions. By Lau. Dermott, D.G.M.*

In this work, partly in an address "To the Reader" (pages i-xxi), and in what he calls "A Phylacterial¹ for such Gentlemen as may be inclined to become Free-Masons" (pages xxii-xxviii), he gives a confused history of the origin of the Grand Lodge of Moderns and of his own Grand Lodge. Of course he claims for the latter a priority of date, and brands the former as a spurious innovation on genuine Freemasonry.

His attempted history is on account of its barren details and its large and surprising claims supported by assertion only of very limited value. As a specimen of its worth as a historical document, Bro. Dermott's story of the Grand Lodge at 1717 is a fair sample:

"About the year 1717," he writes, "some joyous companions who had passed the degree of a Craft (though very rusty) resolved to form a Lodge for themselves in order (by conversation) to recollect what had been formerly dictated to them, or if that should be found impracticable, to substitute something new, which might for the future pass for Masonry amongst themselves. At this meeting the question was asked whether any person in the assembly knew the Master's part, and being answered in the negative, it was resolved, *nem. con.*, that the deficiency should be made up, with a new composition, and what fragments of the old Order found amongst them should be immediately reformed, and made more pliable to the humors of the people."²

He thus accounts for the invention of a ritual by the "Moderns," which they adopted as a substitute for the genuine possessed by the "Antients."

Later researches into the history of the ritual and the formation of the three degrees which with the addition of the Royal

¹ From the Greek word "Phylacterion" and meaning a memorial as well as an amulet or talisman of good luck. See *Matthew*, xxiii, 5-6, also *Exodus* xiii, 2-10, 11-17; *Deuteronomy*, vi, 4-9, the Jews using strips of cow-hide parchment inscribed with passages of Scripture enclosed in a black calfskin case having thongs or laces for binding it on the forehead or around the left arm. The word "Phylactery" has also been used to mean the scroll or manuscript inscribed with mottos, texts or legends, represented in mediæval art as held in the hands of angels. The word means a safeguard, warning, precaution, and reminder. Fitting as it was for the purpose it shows at once the able resource of Bro. Dermott and his firm grip of the situation. His brave showing of scholarship, limited as it may have been in reality, was employed effectively and freely. Witness his "Ahiman Rezon," the name which he gives to his Book of Constitutions, the prayer which he calls "Ahabath Olam," and this "Philacterial." "A little learning," says Pope, "is a dangerous thing," but it is also true that "Fortune favors the brave," and Bro. Dermott was as successful as he was fearless and alert.

² Dermott's "Ahiman Rezon," third edition, p. 35.

Arch constitute what is called "Antient Craft Masonry," make it evident that all of Dermott's statements on this subject are so sadly partisan as to invite doubt.

It is indeed extraordinary that he should assert that he and his followers were in possession of a system of Speculative Freemasonry much older than that which was practiced by the Grand Lodge, organized in 1717, and that they derived their authority to open and hold their Lodges from this more ancient system.

The fact is that Dermott himself, like every one of those who before his appearance on the stage had separated from the 1717 Grand Lodge and established what they called "Lodges of Antient Masons," was originally made in a Lodge of "Moderns." Whatever he knew of Speculative Freemasonry was received from a Lodge in Ireland which had derived its authority and learned its lessons from the Grand Lodge at London.

The first organized break in the ranks among the English Freemasons, which took place in 1738, was not pretended to be based on the fact that the seceders were desirous of practicing an older and purer Freemasonry than that professed by the Grand Lodge at London. It was because they were unwilling to submit to the constitutional laws which had been established by the Grand Lodge and because their irregular proceedings, in violation of those regulations, had met with necessary censure and deserved punishment.

It is true that after the secession and then the striking from the roll of these unruly Lodges, the "Modern" Grand Lodge to prevent the visits of irregular Freemasons had most unwisely made a few alterations in the modes of recognition.

These alterations were not adopted by the seceders. Retaining the old methods which had been in use, certainly as far back as 1723, some of them still earlier, they claimed to be "Antient Masons," because they adhered to the old forms. They at the same time nicknamed the Freemasons who still maintained their allegiance to the older Grand Lodge as "Moderns," because the latter practiced the new methods.

This briefly is in fact all there really is about the dispute concerning "Antients" and "Moderns," which for so many years disturbed and distracted the English Craft.

We know from documents now extant that Laurence Dermott was entered, passed, and raised in a Lodge of what he afterwards called a Lodge of "Moderns," then presided over a Lodge of the same character in Ireland, and on his removal to England renewed his connection with a Modern Lodge, and then joining the opponents he was elected Grand Secretary of the "Antients."

Difficult is it to believe, that with the knowledge he must have had of current events, he could have honestly had the opinion that there was any Speculative Freemasonry, or any Grand Lodge of Speculative Freemasonry, older than that of 1717.

He must have known, too, while he condemned this body as illegal and styled the system it practiced "the memorable invention of modern Masonry," that from it every Lodge of Speculative Freemasons, his own Lodges included, either directly or indirectly received the authority for their existence.

Nothing more clearly shows the weakness of Dermott's attack upon the Grand Lodge of "Moderns" than his conduct in reference to the Regulations. This Grand Lodge in 1721 approved the "General Regulations of the Free and Accepted Masons," compiled the year before by Grand Master Payne. These were published in 1723 by authority of the Grand Lodge, together with the "Old Charges," which had been "collected from the old Records" and "the manner of Constituting a New Lodge" as practiced by Grand Master the Duke of Wharton.

By authority of the same Grand Lodge, a second edition of the *Book of Constitutions* was published in 1738 under the editorship of Dr. Anderson. In this edition Anderson made some material changes in the language of the "Old Charges," and in "the manner of Constituting a New Lodge," so as to adapt them to the changes in the Ritual by which the Master Mason took the place of the Fellow-Craft as the crowning degree of Speculative Freemasonry. He also published the "General Regulations" in two columns; in the first were the "Old Regulations," printed without change, and in the other column, opposite to them, were "the New Regulations, or the Alterations, Improvements or Explications of the Old, made by several Grand Lodges since the first edition."

This second edition, after inspection of the manuscript, "approved and recommended" by the Grand Lodge, "as the only

Book of Constitutions for the use of the Lodges,"¹ became the law for the government of those whom Dermott called "Modern Masons," and the organization of which he declared to be "defective in number and consequently defective in form and capacity."²

If such were his honest opinion, then he must have believed that the Grand Lodge of 1717, so constituted, was an illegal body, and therefore incapable of enacting any laws or instituting any ceremonies which could be of binding force upon the Fraternity which derived its existence from an older institution.

On the contrary, we find that so far from shelving the laws enacted by this "defective" organization, he adopted them in full for the government of his own Grand Lodge, which he had claimed to be the only perfect and legal one.

Therefore, when he compiled his *Ahiman Rezon* and bestowed it upon the "Antients" as their *Book of Constitutions*, Dermott, instead of seeking laws for its government in that older system, whose parentage he claimed, deliberately borrowed from the 1738 *Book of Constitutions*, without a change, except here and there a brief marginal comment, the whole of the "Old Charges," the "Old and New Regulations," and "the manner of Constituting a New Lodge."

There is only one conclusion to be drawn from this circumstance and that is while pretending to believe that the organization of 1717 was unlawful and void, an innovation on an older system, Dermott actually knew that the organization was valid, that the Grand Lodge then formed was regular, and that the regulations adopted by it were the best constitutional authority for the government of the Craft.

Bro. Dermott was not wholly sincere in his professions and sometimes misleading in his statements. While the Masonic schism was made by him the instrument for advancing his own interests, he was well aware that all his claims as to the superior antiquity of his own Grand Lodge, and his charges that the Grand Lodge of 1717 was a modern and illegal organization, were far from frank. Argument controlled his candor. But the rapid

¹ Anderson's "Constitutions," edition of 1738, p. 199. In the next edition the editor, Entick, restored the original wording of 1723, but the "Charges" and "Regulations" in the edition of 1738 continued to be the law of the Grand Lodge for eighteen years, and were so when Dermott adopted them for the government of his Grand Lodge.

² Dermott's "Ahiman Rezon," p. xiv.

progress made by the Grand Lodge of "Antients" in the popular regard, for many years threw a veil over the defects of Bro. Dermott's assertions.

"Throughout his eventful career," says Bro. W. J. Hughan, "he always managed to secure a good working majority in his favor, and the extraordinary success of the schism was an argument in confirmation of his views, which the most of his followers acknowledged." ¹

Success, in the opinion of Seneca, makes some crimes honorable. But this Stoic philosopher goes too far. Crime is too harsh a word and we must draw the mantle of charity over the dispute. Bro. Dermott has long had an honorable name in England and America among the friends of the Grand Lodge of which he was, if not the founder, certainly the chief supporter. Neither must we forget that he had a very pardonable dislike to the innovation of the "Moderns." That he and his friends have some innovations credited to them shows human frailty. Perhaps we may fairly blame this on the bad example. Ireland has always been noted for fidelity to the old ceremonies and these Irish Freemasons naturally inclined to the "antient ways" and joined by the seceders soon made a showing that called for argument to justify. Bro. Dermott met that need. In the dispute he was extravagant but effective. He endured and his work stamped a permanent impress upon Freemasonry.

Here it is proper to say a few words in relation to Dermott's connection with the Royal Arch degree. This degree, which Dermott enthusiastically calls "the root, heart, and marrow of Masonry," ² was, undoubtedly, one of the most efficient elements in giving popularity to the Lodges of the "Antients," because it presented as an additional and much extolled degree, an incentive to candidates which was usually wanting in the Lodges of the "Moderns."

However, it is incorrect to credit Dermott (as has been done by many writers) with its invention or even its introduction into the system of the "Antients." The degree was known to and practiced by some "Modem" Lodges from about 1740. That he afterward cultivated and perhaps enlarged or improved the

¹ Hughan, "Memorials of the Masonic Union," first edition, p. 8.

² Dermott, "Ahiman Rezon," second edition, 1764, p. 46.

degree, and gave to it a prominence which it did not at first possess, is not improbable. But it is an error to credit to him its invention.

But at this stage let us say that the promotion of the "Antients" owed much to the favor officially shown to the Royal Arch degree. A series of four degrees would naturally lead one of but three in the general estimation, other things being equal.

The *Ahiman Rezon* of the "Antients," published in 1756, contains "A Prayer repeated in the Royal Arch at Jerusalem." There is also a quotation from Dassigny's *Serious and Impartial Enquiry* credited to "Our Worshipful Brother Doctor Fifield D'Assigny, printed in the Year 1744."

The list of subscribers to this famous work contains the name of "Mr. Lawrence McDermott," of whom Bro. Hughan remarks "probably the Grand Secretary of the 'Antients.'"¹

Dassigny, in the *Enquiry*, mentions the Royal Arch as being taught by a "propagator of a false system some few years ago in this city (Dublin)." We are told that this deception was in due course exposed by a "Brother of probity and wisdom, who had some small space before attained that excellent part of Masonry in London."

Dermott refers to a similar and perhaps the same case in his *Ahiman Rezon* of 1756.

The earliest record of the degree being conferred is December 22, 1753, when three brethren were made "Royall Arch Masons" in Fredericksburg Lodge in Virginia.

The earliest minute of the degree is dated in the "Antient" records, March 4, 1752. A claim has been made that the degree was worked in a Chapter at Sterling, Scotland, in 1743.

The third and fourth Dukes of Atholl played so prominent a part in the history of the Grand Lodge of "Antients" as to give to that body, as has already been said, the distinctive title of the "Atholl Grand Lodge." Indeed, to the social influence of these noblemen, combined with the shrewdness and unfailing energy of Laurence Dermott, their Grand Lodge was indebted for its remarkable success.

¹ "Memorials of the Masonic Union," second edition, p. 7. This work also contains a reprint of the "Serious and Impartial Enquiry" with much other information on the "Antients" and the Royal Arch.

That Grand Lodge at the date of its organization out of the "Grand Committee" had elected, on December 5, 1753, Robert Turner, who was the Worshipful Master of Lodge No. 15, as Grand Master. Edward Vaughan was elected to that office in 1754. In 1756 the Earl of Blesinton received the Grand Mastership, and was succeeded in 1760 by the Earl of Kelly. After five years of service the Earl was followed in 1766 by the Hon. Thomas Mathew, who served until 1771.

In 1771 John, the third Duke of Atholl, was elected Grand Master. The Duke was a member of the Scottish Craft, and in the following year he was elected the Grand Master of the Grand Lodge of Scotland, so that, as he continued in his English office until his death, in 1774, he was at the same time Grand Master both of the Grand Lodge of Scotland and of the "Antient" Grand Lodge of England. The effect of this unusual combination of two offices, whereby the leadership of the Craft in two countries was vested in the same person, was seen in a close union which about that time was cemented between the Grand Lodge of Scotland and that of the "Antients" in England.

From 1775 to 1781 the Grand Master was John, fourth Duke of Atholl. In 1783 the Earl of Antrim was elected Grand Master, and served until 1791. The Earl had been Grand Master of the Grand Lodge of Ireland in 1772, 1773 and 1779.

This shrewd policy of electing leading Freemasons in the two sister kingdoms to the highest position in the "Antient" Grand Lodge of England, very soon displayed the effect which Dermott had wisely expected to be produced.

September 2, 1771, the Grand Lodge of "Antients," meeting at the "Half Moon Tavern" in Cheapside,¹ Laurence Dermott being in the chair as Deputy Grand Master, adopted the following resolution, which the Grand Secretary was ordered to transmit to the Grand Lodge of Ireland:

"It is the opinion of this Grand Lodge that a brotherly connection and correspondence with the Right Worshipful Grand Lodge of Ireland has been and will always be found productive of honor and advantage to the Craft in both kingdoms."

¹ The "Half Moon" in Cheapside was, during the 17th and 18th centuries, a tavern of some fame. Ashmole records in his Diary, under date of March, 1632, that he was at "a noble dinner given at the Half Moon Tavern in 'Cheapside.'" The Grand Lodge of "Antients" met there, but later on removed to the "Crown and Anchor."

At the same time it was ordered that the Grand Secretary should annually transmit to the Grand Lodge of Ireland the names of officers elected and any other information that might be of interest to the Craft.

It was further ordered that no Freemason made under the sanction of the Grand Lodge of Ireland should be admitted as a member nor partake of the General Charity of the Grand Lodge of England unless he produced a certificate from the Irish Grand Secretary.¹

On the proposition of Dermott, and at the same meeting, September 2, 1771, a correspondence was ordered to be opened with the Grand Lodge of Scotland.

The response from both the Grand Lodges of Ireland and of Scotland was very satisfactory to the "Antients."

November 5, 1772, the Grand Lodge of Ireland, Viscount Duley being Grand Master, adopted a resolution which declared that it entirely agreed with the Grand Lodge of England that a brotherly connection and correspondence between the two Grand Lodges had been and always would be found of honor and advantage to the Craft in both kingdoms.²

It was also ordered that the particular occurrences of the Grand Lodge of Ireland should from time to time be continued to be transmitted to the Grand Secretary of England, and that "hereafter no English Mason shall be considered worthy of their charity without producing a certificate from the Grand Lodge of England."

The letter suggested by Dermott was sent to the Grand Lodge of Scotland. It was of the same purport and almost in the same language as that transmitted to Ireland, except that the Grand Lodge of England expressed the opinion that a brotherly connection and correspondence with the Grand Lodge of Scotland "will be found productive of honor and advantage to the Fraternity in general." There is no reference, as we have stated in

¹ Dermott had previously opened a correspondence with Thomas Corker, the Deputy Grand Secretary of Ireland, to prepare the way for this action. See "Ahiman Rezon," edition of 1778, p. lvi.

² The use of the word "continued" and the expression in the resolution of both bodies that a brotherly connection and correspondence "have been and always will be" would indicate that such a connection and correspondence had previously existed between the two Grand Lodges. This wording is not used by the Grand Lodge of England in the resolution sent to the Grand Lodge of Scotland, nor is it employed by that body in its responsive resolution. In both, the reference is only to a future correspondence.

the preceding note, to any former correspondence, but only the proposal for a future one.

The Earl of Dumfries being Grand Master, and the Duke of Atholl being present as Grand Master-elect of Scotland, on November 30, 1772, the letter and resolution of the "Grand Lodge of England according to the Old Institutions" being read (so says the record), "the Grand Lodge were of opinion that the brotherly love and intercourse which the Right Worshipful Grand Lodge of England were desirous to establish would be serviceable to both Grand Lodges and productive of honor and advantage to the Fraternity."¹

Thereupon the Grand Lodge of Scotland began the correspondence by sending the names of the officers that day elected, and ordered the same to be done yearly, with any other information that might be of honor and advantage to the Craft. It also ordered "that no Mason, made under the sanction of the 'Grand Lodge of England according to the Old Institutions,' shall be admitted a member of the Grand Lodge of Scotland, nor partake of the general charity without having first produced a certificate of his good behavior from the Secretary of the Grand Lodge of England."²

The reader will notice a very important difference in the wording of the orders of the two Grand Lodges of Ireland and Scotland. If this language is intentionally made we can easily determine the feelings of each to the first or "Modern" Grand Lodge of England.

The Grand Lodge of Ireland, addressing the Grand Lodge of "Antients," calls it "the Grand Lodge of England," and refuses recognition to any "English Mason" who does not produce a certificate from it.

Of course the unavoidable effect of this order would be to deny the standing of the Grand Lodge of "Moderns" and to place all its members under the ban as illegal. It is very evident that no member of a Lodge of "Moderns" would seek or obtain a certificate from the Grand Lodge of "Antients," and without this, if he visited Ireland, he would be barred by the terms of the edict from all his Masonic rights and privileges. Such an order

¹ Laurie, "History of Freemasonry," p. 208. Dermott, "Ahiman Rezon," p. ix.

² See the above.

would, according to the views of the present day, be considered as a recognition of the Grand Lodge of "Antients" as the only regular Masonic authority in England.

A fair inference from the readiness of the Grand Lodge of Ireland to go so far in the recognition of the new body in England would be that they had the best possible evidence of the Masonic qualifications of the brethren applying for it from London. If we suppose, as really seems to be the case, that the members most active there were of Irish Masonic origin we have further light on the favor shown them by the Grand Lodge of Ireland.

The Grand Lodge of Scotland was more prudent in its choice of language. It specifically named the body in England with which it was about to establish a brotherly correspondence as the "Grand Lodge of England according to the Old Institutions," and required only Freemasons made under its sanction to present its certificates. Thus we may justly infer that Freemasons made under the sanction of the Grand Lodge of "Moderns" were not excluded from Masonic visitation if they had the certificate of their own Grand Lodge.

The Grand Lodges of Ireland and Scotland, however, in time reconsidered their action and eventually assumed the position of neutrality or indifference in the contest, but, says Hughan, "during the period that they especially countenanced the refractory brethren, the latter made considerable out of the fact, and proclaimed their alliance with these two Grand Lodges far and near."¹

Looking at the subject from the legal standpoint of the present day, one can not but be surprised at the action taken by the Irish and Scotch Freemasons.

Here are two Grand Lodges, the former of which was indebted to the first Grand Lodge of England for its organization and the latter for its ritual. Both deliberately ignore that body and acknowledge as lawful a dubious association which their old ally had declared to be irregular.

Evidently Masonic jurisprudence had not then assumed those formal principles by which it is now distinguished and by which it governs the institution.

¹ Hughan, "Masonic Memorials," first edition, p. 14.

Scarcely less surprising is it that the pioneer Grand Lodge of England appears to have taken no notice of these proceedings, nor entered any protest against their justice. Neither Preston nor Noorthouck, in their chronicles of the times, make any reference to this plain trespass of legitimate authority. It is passed over by both in silence as something which they either deemed beyond all explanation or not worthy of mention.

The Grand Lodge itself, when four or five years thereafter it repeated its scoring of the "Antients," treated the two Grand Lodges with a courtesy which under similar circumstances at this day it would hardly repeat to any which would sustain such a rival.

April 7, 1777, the "Modern" Grand Lodge held an "extraordinary" communication to consider "the proper means of discouraging the irregular assemblies of persons calling themselves Antient Masons," when the following resolution was passed:

"It is the opinion of this Grand Lodge, that the persons calling themselves Ancient Masons, and now assembling in England or elsewhere, under the patronage of the Duke of Atholl are not to be considered as Masons, nor are their meetings to be countenanced or acknowledged by any Lodge or Mason acting under our authority. But this censure shall not extend to any Mason who shall produce a certificate or give other satisfactory proof of his having been made a Mason in a regular Lodge under the Constitution of Scotland, Ireland, or any foreign Grand Lodge in alliance with the Grand Lodge of England."¹

Thus the Grand Lodges of Ireland and Scotland were recognized by the "Modern" Grand Lodge as friendly allies with it, notwithstanding that the one had condemned all English Freemasons who were not "Antients," and the other had acknowledged the Grand Lodge of "Antients" as a regular and legally constituted organization.

The comparison which is thus afforded of the energy of the "Antients" and the apathy of the "Moderns" would alone sufficiently account for the rapid success and growing popularity of the former body, were there no other causes existing and actively at work to produce the same result.

A very natural result was that the "Antient" Grand Lodge, elated by this success and popularity, should in an official docu-

¹ Noorthouck, "Constitutions," p. 323.

ment issued in 1802 have declared that its members "can not and must not receive into the body of a just and perfect Lodge, nor treat as a Brother any person who has not received the obligations of Masonry according to the 'Antient' Constitutions as practiced by the United Grand Lodges of England, Scotland, and Ireland, and the regular branches that have sprung from their sanction."¹

The insurgents — and that is surely not an unfair title — claimed to be regular, and the "Modern" Freemasons were relegated by them to the realms of irregularity. The nature of men, says the Italian historian Guicciardini, when they leave one extreme in which they have been forcibly held, is to rush speedily to the opposite.

Just before the middle of the 18th century the "Antient" Freemasons, who were embraced in only a few Lodges, were accepting the censures of the 1717 Grand Lodge for their irregularities, and were humbly making promises of reformation. At its close they had united with the independent Irish Freemasons of London and were denouncing their old brethren as irregular and proclaiming themselves and their associates to be the only true Masonic Craftsmen in England.

We have made mention frequently of the successful progress of the "Antients" in the founding and advertising of their system. The authentic records of the time afford the most satisfactory evidence of this fact.

Commencing its organized opposition to the regular Grand Lodge in 1751, under a superintending head styled the "Grand Committee," which was in fact the premier Lodge with six others it constituted in 1751 and 1752 seven more. These Lodges in 1753 officially perfected the organization of the "Grand Lodge of England according to the Old Institutions." In the course of the next four years it constituted thirty additional Lodges in London and ten more in various parts of the kingdom, namely, two at Bristol, three at Liverpool, and one each at Manchester, Warrington, Coventry, Worcester, and Deptford. At the end of the year 1757 there were or had been some fifty-four Lodges in England acknowledging allegiance to the "Antient" Grand Lodge.

¹ "Ahiman Rezon," edition of 1804. p. 130.

The operations were not confined to the narrow limits of the kingdom. Lodges and a Provincial Grand Lodge were established in Nova Scotia as early as 1757, and in a few years there were Lodges and Provincial Grand Lodges in Canada, in the American Colonies, in the West, at Minorca in the Mediterranean, in the distant island of St. Helena, and in the East Indies.

The third Duke of Atholl died in 1774, being at the time, as he had been since 1771, the Grand Master of the "Antients." His son and the successor to the title, John the fourth Duke, was not a Freemason at the time of his father's death. On February 25, 1775, as we learn from the Minutes of the Grand Committee,¹ he received the first three degrees in the Grand Master's Lodge of "Antient" Freemasons, and was forthwith chosen as Master of that Lodge. On March 1st, in the same year, only four days after his initiation, he was unanimously elected to succeed his father as Grand Master.

Obviously, the object of Dermott and his companions in thus elevating a mere tyro to the Grand East was simply to retain for their Grand Lodge the great influence and patronage of the Scottish House of Atholl. In 1782 the Duke was succeeded by the Earl who was afterwards the Marquis of Antrim, an Irish nobleman, who held the office of Grand Master until 1791.

The Duke of Atholl was then re-elected, and continued to preside over the Grand Lodge until the year 1813, when he resigned. He was succeeded by the Duke of Kent, who assumed the office as a preliminary and helpful step toward the union of the two Grand Lodges, which was brought about in that year.

A correct list is here given of the Grand Masters of the "Grand Lodge of England according to the Old Institutions," or more familiarly speaking, the "Grand Lodge of Antients," or the "Atholl Grand Lodge," from its birth to its death. This list was first compiled by Bro. W. J. Hughan.² We have verified it (though this was hardly necessary with so accurate a historian) by comparison with other authorities.

1753,	Robert Turner,
1754-56,	Edward Vaughan,
1756-59,	Earl of Blesinton,

¹ Gould, "Atholl Lodges," p. i.

² "Memorials of the Masonic Union," second edition, p. 10.

1760–66,	Earl of Kelly,
1766–70,	Hon. Thomas Mathew,
1771–74,	John, third Duke of Atholl,
1775–81,	John, fourth Duke of Atholl,
1783–91,	Earl of Antrim,
1791–1813,	John, fourth Duke of Atholl,
1813,	Duke of Kent. ¹

A strange oversight is made by the Rev. George Oliver and it is inconceivable how he could have committed so grave an error as to say, “the fact is, that the ‘Antients’ after their secession continued to hold their meetings without acknowledging a superior till 1772, when they chose for their Grand Master the Duke of Atholl.”² He was apparently unaware that their first Grand Master was elected in 1753, and that from that time until the union of their Grand Lodge with the “Moderns” in 1813 the office was filled by an unbroken succession of Grand Masters. *Voilà justement comme on écrit l'histoire.*³

The following is a list of the Grand Secretaries who served during the same period:

1751,	John Morgan,
1752–70,	Laurence Dermott,
1771–76,	William Dickey,
1777–78,	James Jones,
1779–82,	Charles Bearblock,
1783–84,	Robert Leslie,
1785–89,	John McCormick,
1790–1813,	Robert Leslie.

In conclusion it is necessary to say something of the character and claims of the Grand Lodge which created a Masonic revolt and independence that lasted in an organized form for

¹ Fourth son of George III. and grandfather of Edward VII. who was installed as Grand Master of England in 1875. The Duke of Kent was born in 1767, died in 1820.

² Preston's “Illustrations of Masonry,” Oliver's edition, p. 358.

³ “Behold justly how some write history.” Voltaire, “Charlot,” I, p. 7. This famous author, by the way, was initiated during the morning of April 7, 1778, in the Lodge of the Neuf Soeurs (Nine Sisters or the Muses) at Paris when he was 84 years old.

sixty years, and extended its influence into every part of the civilized world where the English language was spoken.

The Freemasons, who about 1738 seceded from the first Grand Lodge of England, and soon after began to call themselves "Antient," and who with their Irish Masonic associates named the other members of the Craft as "Moderns," were not incited to the secession in consequence of any innovations that had been made upon the Speculative ritual by the Grand Lodge from which they separated.

Innovations of that class were the consequence and not the cause of their secession. They were made by the "Modern" Grand Lodge so as to produce such a change in the working as would prevent as far as possible the visits of the seceders to its Lodges. The "Modern" changes in ritual were indeed not very important and did not at all affect the traditional history or the symbolic system of Speculative Freemasonry. The adoption of them was certainly a very great error, and the insurgents were not slow to avail themselves of an effective weapon in the charge of innovation, so distasteful to the Masonic mind, to produce a feeling of sympathy in their behalf.

True, there was smouldering in many breasts a resentment over the changes made in the displacing of the Operative by the Speculative system. While there is some uncertainty about the several distinctive features of the old Operative forms and ritual there can be no question that the older Freemasons would ever be a class from whose ranks were easily recruited a lusty force of critics to attack the newer and the controlling organization. There would exist a strong tendency to keep alive old customs that were no longer approved by the "Gentlemen" Freemasons and this condition would be an ever-present temptation to wean brethren from "Modern" to "Antients," the latter by name and claim constantly arguing their conservatism and fidelity to the old institutions and ridiculing their opponents as neither practicing nor knowing Masonic rules and ritual.

The truth is that the first innovation, and this a very important one, was made by the "Antients" themselves. The practice of it was the cause of the censures passed by the 1717 Grand Lodge, which was the first step that led to the separation.

We deem it important to settle the nature of this innovation, because it is really the "chief cornerstone" on which the "Antients" were founded. Moreover, one of the historians of the "Modern" Grand Lodge has committed a grave error in respect to it.

Noorthouck, who in 1784 gave us the best edited edition, the fifth, of the *Book of Constitutions*, in speaking of the conduct of the Masons engaged in the "irregular makings" which in 1739 elicited the censures of the Grand Lodge, has the following passage:

"In contempt of the ancient and established laws of the Order, they set up a power independent, and taking advantage of the inexperience of their associates, insisted that they had an equal authority with the Grand Lodge to make, pass, and raise Masons. At this time no private Lodge had the power of passing or raising Masons; nor could any brother be advanced to either of these degrees but in the Grand Lodge, with the unanimous consent and approbation of all the brethren in communication assembled." ¹

Noorthouck has here made a statement not easily understood in the light of the facts at our disposal.

It is true that in 1723, at about the time of the Speculative working out of the Second and Third degrees a clause was inserted in the 13th of the Thirty-nine Regulations which declared that "Apprentices must be admitted Masters and Fellow Crafts only here (in the Grand Lodge) unless by Dispensation." This was done, in all probability, to secure the proper conferring of the newly perfected degrees in the hands of their inventors and of experienced Freemasons, instead of entrusting them to Masters of Lodges who might be incompetent to preserve the purity of the ritual.

But this objection was soon overcome as the degrees grew to be better understood and appreciated. The inconvenience of the Regulation being recognized, it was repealed in 1725.

On November 22, 1725, the authorities adopted a new Regulation that "The Master of a Lodge with its Wardens and a competent number of the Lodge assembled in due form can make Masters and Fellows at discretion." ²

¹ Noorthouck's edition of "Book of Constitutions," note on p. 240.

² See Anderson, edition of 1738, p. 160, and Entick, edition of 1756, p. 280, where this new Regulation will be found.

This new Regulation was published both by Anderson in 1738 and by Entick in 1756 in their respective editions of the *Book of Constitutions*, with which Noorthouck must have been familiar, especially with the latter. Seeing also that there is no provision restraining the passing and raising of Candidates by Private Lodges contained in the code of Regulations published by Noorthouck in his edition, but on the contrary, one which expressly recognizes that right and defines its scope,¹ it is curious that he should have made the above statement in regard to "passing and raising Masons."

The truth is that the act which called down upon certain Freemasons the censures of the Grand Lodge, and which finally produced the separation, was not the conferring of the Second and Third degrees in their Lodges, for this was a prerogative that had long before been conceded to them, but it was the conferring of the Master's degree in a form unknown to the authorized ritual of the Grand Lodge, and the supplementing it with an entirely new and Fourth degree.

The "irregular making of Masons," which according to Entick² was complained of in 1739, was the mutilation of the Third degree and the transferring of its concluding part to another degree called the "Royal Arch."

The Chevalier Ramsey, a brother of much learning, was long the reputed inventor of a series of degrees extending and explaining the system of Craft Freemasonry. These furnish a basis for most if not all of the Modern Rites. Among them was one now known to ritualists as the "Royal Arch of Solomon."

Bro. Ramsey went to England in the year 1728, where he received from the University of Oxford the degree of Doctor of Civil Law. He was already a Fellow of the Royal Society. A tradition says he sought to induce the Grand Lodge to adopt his system of degrees. But the leading members of that body were too conservative to make any change in the ritual.

We are also told that there were some of the Fraternity with whom he was more successful. It is not by any means intended

¹ "Nor shall any Lodge be permitted to make and raise a brother at the same meeting, without a Dispensation from the Grand Master or his Deputy, on very particular occasions." Regulations published by Noorthouck in his "Constitutions," p. 392.

² Entick, "Constitutions," p. 228.

to affirm that the Royal Arch degree of Ramsey was accepted in the form or even with the legend that he borrowed or invented.

We need not go so far with this plausible story. In fact, as can well be imagined in the discussion of Masonic ritual, the early history of it must be subject to all the doubt that go with secrecy and a general lack of written records concerning the ceremonies except to say when and where and on whom the degrees were conferred.

But any theory of degrees advanced by so bright a literary member, honored in two countries, would arouse attention and respect. Few and feeble as may be the written facts yet the long life of the tradition deserves note ere we cast aside so alluring a topic as the possible influence of Bro. Ramsey.

Accepting it for argument's sake, then the theories advanced by Ramsey doubtless awakened in many official minds new views and suggested ideas which were novel, but which were believed to be essential to the perfection of Masonic symbolism.

From the earliest times of Speculative Freemasonry the "Word," or, as it was called by the Freemasons of Scotland, the "Mason Word," had always held a prominent place in the Masonic ritual. We have every reason to believe it was one of the few symbols retained by the Speculative out of the Operative system. The triangle, it will be remembered, always in Christian art an emblem of the Godhead, was a favorite architectural ornament used by the Stonemasons of the Middle Ages.

Adopted by the Speculative Freemasons, it was placed by them, when they worked over their ritual, as a prominent symbol in the Master's degree, to which it had been transferred from the original degree or ritual common to all the Craft.¹

The Master's degree as given by Dr. Desaguliers and his co-workers was imperfect as to the history of this "Word." Bro. Mackey says the legend detailing the method by which it had been lost to the Craft was preserved, but no provision had been made to account for its recovery. The legend was not carried out to its logical end. The story was left unfinished. Although the

¹ In early Lodges of Scotland, and the practice prevailed in England and elsewhere, the Mason Word was given to Apprentices. Lyon says "this was the germ whence has sprung Symbolical Masonry." "History of the Lodge of Edinburgh," p. 28.

"Word" was there and was for the Master, no one could tell how it got there.

Someone, perhaps Bro. Ramsey, who was a thinker and a man of much learning, saw this defect in the Masonic scheme and supplied the deficiency by the invention of the "Royal Arch of Solomon." He thus perfected what he had found unfinished, and gave completeness and connection to all the details of the allegory.

Many English Freemasons had doubtless seen the same fault in the system usually credited to Desaguliers and his associates, the latter probably including Martin Clare,¹ which had been adopted and sanctioned by the Grand Lodge. Let us suppose that anyone, Bro. Ramsey or another, proposed his new arrangement by which that fault was to be amended. Though the Grand Lodge, as the representative of the Fraternity, refused to accept his system, and preferred to "stand on the old ways," imperfect as they were, there were brethren not so strictly conservative in their views who were impressed with the advantage of accepting the suggestions. These brethren were the seceders and independents who about the year 1738 were concerned in "irregular makings," that is they undertook to confer the degrees in a form different from that which was sanctioned by the Grand Lodge.

We confess that at this distance of time it is impossible to know with anything like precision, what were the precise changes made by the "Antients" in the accepted ritual of the "Moderna."

Equally difficult is it to say what were the items that to the "Antients" represented Operative practice abandoned by the "Moderna" but too valuable in their opinion to be lost. Differences of desire and conviction then as would be the case now attended any change, proposed or accomplished, in the ritualistic ceremonies. However, it is very satisfactorily evident, from the course of current history and from the known succession of events, that that change, whatever it was, finally led to the development of the Royal Arch degree, such as it is now practiced, as a necessary completion of the Master's part, and therefore as a recognized section of "Antient" Craft Freemasonry.

¹ One cannot read his "Defence of Masonry" (Reprinted by the Lodge of Research, Leicester, England) without a strong conviction that he was a very likely person indeed to have had an active hand in the reshaping of the Masonic degrees to meet the demands of the Speculative philosophy. See also "Ars Quatuor Coronatorum," vol. iv, pp. 33-41. Clare who died in 1751, was Grand Steward in 1734, Junior Grand Warden in 1735, and Deputy Grand Master in 1741.

Thus far, then, the secession or the insurgency of the "Antients," however unjustifiable it was in its inception as a violation of Masonic law, was in its later results of great advantage to the system of Speculative Freemasonry. Bro. Mackey claims that it gave to Masonic symbolism a completeness and perfection that was altogether wanting under the old arrangement of only three degrees, and supplied a break in the history of the "Word" which it is strange that the ritualists of the earlier period of the 18th century had not perceived nor appreciated.

We are not so sure that the substance of the "Royal Arch," or the ceremony of Exaltation, was not already an accepted part of the Third degree and that while for the mere matter of convenience in shortening the work to save time and effort, or both, it may have been neglected or may even have been disfavored, misunderstood or belittled, yet it seems as logical to think that the ceremony known to us grew out of a separation of a complete ritual as the invention to fill out a defective one.

There is an instance bearing directly on this matter. A Lodge, No. 94, at the Ben Jonson's Head, decided as Dermott says "to practice Antient Masonry on every third Lodge night." He explains this by saying they were "mostly Antient Masons, tho under the Modern Constitution." The Lodge in question was after due warning finally striken off the roll of the "Moderns" at a Grand Lodge Communication held on July 24, 1755.¹

Bro. Dermott asserts "Upon one of these nights (when Antient Masonry was being practiced) some Modern Masons attempted to visit them, but were refused admittance: the persons so refused laid a formal complaint before the Modern Grand Lodge. . . . The said Grand Lodge, though incapable of judging the propriety or impropriety of such refusal — not being Antient Masons — ordered that the Ben Jonson's Lodge admit all sorts of Masons without distinction."²

Bro. J. T. Thorp, in an address to the Lodge of Research, says "There recently came into my hands a copy of an old manuscript consisting of the ritual worked in the Lodge at the Ben Jonson's Head. This manuscript was at one time the property of the

¹ 1756 "Book of Constitutions" of the "Modern" Grand Lodge. Similar complaints were considered as early as June, 1739. See "Constitutions," 1756, pp. 228-229.

² "Ahiman Rezon," 1787, pp. xvi-xviii.

famous Masonic writer, Dr. George Oliver, at whose death it came into the possession of Bro. Richard Spencer, the Masonic bookseller, etc., of London. In July, 1875, it was offered in London for sale by public auction and was bought by Bro. W. J. Hughan for the Hon. R. F. Bower, of Keokuk, Iowa. . . . The original is now in the splendid Library belonging to the Grand Lodge of Iowa.”¹

We have carefully examined this ritual. Impossible as it is for us to critically discuss it in print we do say that the essentials of the “Royal Arch” are contained in a dramatic form there.

The introduction of this degree was for a long time opposed by the 1717 Grand Lodge as an innovation on the landmarks. They even treated it with contempt.

To a petitioner from Ireland applying for relief the Grand Secretary of the Grand Lodge of “Moderns” replied: “Our Society is neither Arch, Royal Arch, nor Antient, so that you have no right to partake of our charity.”²

But the innovation was advocated with such ability and became so popular that the older Grand Lodge was compelled to give way to what was evidently the wish of the Fraternity, and at length to adopt what they had so persistently condemned.³

On June 12, 1765, a Royal Arch Chapter was operating in connection with the “Moderns,” and was in 1767 converted into a Grand Chapter. Hughan says it “was virtually, though not actually, countenanced by the Grand Lodge. It was purely a defensive organization to meet the wants of the regular brethren and prevent their joining the ‘Antients’ for exaltation.”⁴

In 1813, at the union of the two Grand Lodges, the “Holy Royal Arch” was legally recognized as a constituent part of Antient Craft Freemasonry.

Bro. Hughan’s assertion that in 1766 the Grand Chapter was even virtually countenanced by the Grand Lodge of “Moderns” must be read in the light of two claims that seem to seriously qualify his suggestion.

¹ “Transactions,” Lodge of Research, Leicester, England, 1911-12, pp. 72-77.

² We give this anecdote on the authority of Dermott (“Ahiman Rezon,” p. xvi), but there is no reason to doubt its truth.

³ “Masonic Memorials,” second edition, p. 8, note.

⁴ See the above.

The first is the declaration already given of the Grand Secretary of the "Modern" Grand Lodge, made about that time, that they were "neither Arch, Royal Arch, nor Antient"; and the other is a letter written on June 7, 1766, by this Grand Secretary to the Provincial Lodge of Frankfort-on-the-Main, in which he declares the Royal Arch is "a Society which we do not acknowledge and which we regard as an invention designed for the purpose of introducing innovations amongst the Brotherhood and diverting them from the fundamental rules which our ancestors laid down for us."¹

To this conflict of authority there appears to be but one reasonable explanation. Probably some of the "Modern" Freemasons, tempted by the success and popularity of the Royal Arch degree among the "Antients," had independently formed a Chapter of their own, and soon converted it into a self-created Grand Chapter, just as the Lodge at York, forty years before, had resolved itself into a Grand Lodge.

Although this was done without the sanction of the Grand Lodge, and though it was precisely the same innovation which long ago had met with the severe censure of that body, it is to be presumed that no notice was taken of the act, because experience had taught the Grand Lodge that the best policy would be not to endanger by opposition a second rebellion from its authority.

Royal Arch Freemasonry was permitted to exist by that caution which endures rather than risks. But the victory of the "Antients" was fully accomplished in 1813, when the Grand Lodge of "Modems" recognized that which they had at first styled an innovation and acknowledged the Royal Arch to be a component part of Antient Craft Freemasonry.

Clearly the two Grand Lodges long moved in parallel but not amicable lines, both indulging at times in mutual recriminations and each denouncing the other as irregular. The "Antients," as well as the "Modems," extended their jurisdiction beyond the limits of England into foreign countries. They exercised this power, however, in a different manner.

The Grand Lodge of "Modems" usually appointed Deputations or Provincial Grand Masters in various countries, by whom

¹ Findel submits this in his "History of Freemasonry," p. 184.

Lodges were first organized, and afterwards Provincial Grand Lodges.

The "Antients" never practiced this method. They granted Warrants, directly, for the establishment of Lodges, and these, as soon as there were a sufficient number, proceeded to organize Grand Lodges, under the title of "Antient York Masons."

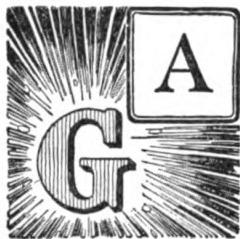
Such was the universal practice on the American Continent where the Grand Lodges established under the obedience of the Grand Lodge of "Moderns" and those organized by the York or Antient Lodges preserved the distinctive principles of their parents and inherited their disputes.

Such a condition of things was too alien to the benign and fraternal sentiments of Freemasonry to continue. Movements toward agreement were under way toward the close of the 18th century. Finally, in 1813, the Atholl Grand Lodge was forever dissolved by a fusion of the two contending bodies in England into the now existing body under the title of the "United Grand Lodge of England." This excellent example was speedily followed by similar unions in all the States where the rivalry had prevailed.

The fusion in England, which closes the history of the Atholl Grand Lodge, is too important an event to be treated otherwise than as we shall do in a separate chapter.

CHAPTER EIGHTY-SIX

THE GRAND LODGE OF ENGLAND, SOUTH OF THE TRENT; OR THE INDEPENDENCE OF THE LODGE OF ANTIQUITY



MONG the four old Lodges of London uniting in the formation of a Grand Lodge in the year 1717, the Masonic Lodge which at that time met at the "Goose and Gridiron Ale-house in St. Paul's Churchyard," assumed the precedence as No. 1. Under all its changes of name and locality, the Lodge meeting there retained that lead on the list until the union of the two Grand Lodges in 1813. There being at that time the two lists of numbered Lodges, the "Antients" and the "Moderns," with conflicting couples of numbers, it was found necessary to adopt a simple scheme of settling the condition of affairs. Accordingly No. 1 of the four old Lodges was dropped from the proud place so long occupied when in casting lots it lost its primitive rank and became No. 2, a number which it has ever since held. Anderson calls it "the Senior Lodge whose Constitution is immemorial."¹

About the year 1729, No. 1 removed from the "Goose and Gridiron," to the "King's Arms Tavern," also in St. Paul's Churchyard. Here it remained until 1768, except for a brief interval in 1735, having taken in 1760 the name of the "West India and American Lodge." In 1768 it removed to the "Mitre," in Fleet Street, and in 1770 adopted the title of the "Lodge of Antiquity," which it has ever since continued to use.²

These four Lodges had been established previous to the formation of the Grand Lodge, under the old system which permitted a sufficient number of Freemasons to meet together and form a

¹ See the List of Lodges in the 1738 "Book of Constitutions," p. 184. The word "immemorial," meaning to reach backward beyond the recollections of memory, is conveniently applied to those authorized Masonic bodies whose standing antedates our records.

² Gould's "Four Old Lodges," note 9, p. 6.

Lodge, the only authority required being the consent of the chief magistrate of the place.¹

The recognition of this privilege, which they called immemorial usage, they claimed and received from the new Grand Lodge. The latter required all other Lodges which should be constituted to first obtain a Warrant from the Grand Master, but permitted the four original Lodges to act as they always had done without such authority.

The history of these four Lodges may be thus briefly told:

Lodge No. 2 originally met at the "Crown," in Parker's Lane, but became extinct in course of time, being found in the list no later than 1736 and being struck off the Roll in 1740.²

Lodge No. 3 met at the "Apple Tree Tavern," memorable as the place where the first meeting to bring about the organization of a Grand Lodge was held. This Lodge in 1723, on account of some differences arising among its members, gave up its immemorial privileges and accepted a Warrant of Constitution from the Grand Lodge as No. 10. This Lodge is now the Fortitude and Old Cumberland Lodge, No. 12.

Lodge No. 4, afterwards No. 2, first held at the "Rummer and Grapes," and then removed to the "Horn Tavern." This Lodge was in 1747, because of non-attendance of its representative at the Quarterly Communications, erased from the Roll of Lodges.³ The Lodge was reinstated in 1751. This Lodge in 1774 united with the Somerset House Lodge, which had been warranted in 1762 as No. 269. This Masonic body now bears the title of the Royal Somerset House and Inverness Lodge, No. 4.

Preston, in a passage of his 1781 edition, asserted that by this act "the members of the Lodge tacitly agreed to a renunciation of their rights as one of the four original Lodges, put themselves entirely under the authority of the Grand Lodge and claimed no distinct privilege by virtue of an immemorial Constitution."

¹ Preston, "Illustrations of Masonry," 12th edition, p. 210, note.

² Preston, "Illustrations of Masonry," 12th edition, p. 215, says the Lodge became extinct through the death of its members.

³ Entick, "Book of Constitutions," p. 248.

Strictly speaking, this is not an accurate statement, and Preston did well to erase it from the later editions of his book.¹ The act of incorporation with the Somerset Lodge was really an absorption of that body into the Horn Lodge whose number remained unchanged. At the union of 1813 the Lodge so united was admitted on the Register without a Warrant of Constitution and as acting from "Time Immemorial."

No doubt has ever been cast upon the record of Lodge No. 1, which met at the "Goose and Gridiron," and which has so long been known as the "Lodge of Antiquity." Bro. Preston speaks of it as the Lodge of St. Paul, but this is probably more in reference to the location than for any other reason. Never at any time abandoning its claim to all the privileges of a Lodge dating from time immemorial and vigorously asserting them, the "Lodge of Antiquity" has remained to the present day without a Warrant.

Pine's List of Lodges for 1729 says that the Lodge was established in 1691, but Bro. Hughan believes it to have been much older.

The claim has been made that the celebrated architect, Sir Christopher Wren, was made a Freemason in this Lodge. Aubrey, the antiquary, in his *Natural History of Wiltshire*, says that on May 19, 1691, there was "a great convention at St. Paul's Church of the Fraternity of Free (Accepted²) Masons where Sir Christopher Wren is to be adopted a brother, and Sir Henry Goodrie of the Tower and divers others."

Perhaps this passage suggested to the maker of Pine's List the notion of giving to the Lodge the date of 1691 as the time of its establishment. Such a "convention" might easily result in the constitution of a Lodge, if indeed one did not already exist there and in that case the gathering of the Fraternity was equally a probable result from the activity of a Lodge desiring to honor a man of note, a prominent architect joining a Lodge that has long

¹ Preston was of the opinion: "It is a question that will admit of some discussion, whether any of the above old Lodges can, while they exist as Lodges, surrender their rights as those rights seem to have been granted by the old Masons of the metropolis to them in trust; and any individual member of the four old Lodges might object to the surrender, and in that case they never could be given up." From "Illustrations of Masonry," 12th edition, p. 215, note.

² The manuscript of Aubrey's work is in the Bodleian Library of Oxford, England, and the word "Free" was first written, then the pen was drawn through it and the word "Accepted" written over it. Such is the present condition of the document.

been claimed as of the Operatives and thus of a kind best fitted to appreciate the worth of Wren, especially at St. Paul's.

Assuming that the Lodge, which in 1717 met at the "Goose and Gridiron," was the one that in 1691 admitted Wren¹ to the Fraternity, the roll of distinguished members will be confined to the architect of St. Paul's and to William Preston, the celebrated Masonic historian. The statement that Dr. Desaguliers was initiated in it has been asserted but not proved.²

The fourth Lodge, the one that met at the "Rummer and Grapes," and afterward at the "Horn Tavern," can boast a much larger list of Masonic worthies. Among them are the names of Desaguliers, Payne, and Anderson, all of whom were probably made in it, either just before or immediately after the organization of the Grand Lodge. Desaguliers is said to have been made in 1712, and we are disposed to believe that both Payne and Anderson, as well as he, were Freemasons in 1717 and were personally engaged in the formation of the Grand Lodge. Between 1723 and 1738 a great many noblemen, both English and foreign, were admitted to its membership, while the early rolls of Nos. 1 and 2 contain no brethren of high Masonic or social rank, and that of No. 3 claims only the name of Anthony Sayer, the first Grand Master.³

Bro. Gould thinks that in the earliest years of the Grand Lodge, Nos. 1, 2, and 3 represented the Operative and No. 4 the Speculative elements of the Society.⁴ This is probably true. We know that the first three Lodges were not distinguished in their membership by the name of a single personage of rank or learning, and that in 1723 the Master of No. 1 was a stonemason. On the other hand, Desaguliers, Payne, and Anderson, the leaders in

¹ The 1723 "Book of Constitutions" does not mention Wren as being a Freemason. Not until 1738 does the "Constitutions" in the edition of that year speak of Wren as having been a Grand Master. There are two newspapers that announce his funeral, No. 5245 of the "Postboy," March 2-5, 1723, and the "British Journal," No. 25, March 9, 1723, and both speak of him as "that worthy Freemason." Christopher Wren, Jr., the son of Sir Christopher Wren, was in 1729 Master of the Lodge of Antiquity.

² Bro. Desaguliers was a visitor to the Lodge of Antiquity on March 18, 1722, and at some later but undetermined date he affiliated and served as Master in 1723 and 1724. His name appears in 1725 on the list of members of the Lodge meeting at the "Horn," No. 4, but there is no evidence to prove he was initiated in that Lodge though that seems probable. The brother in a black gown to the extreme right of the Frontispiece to the 1723 "Constitution" is thought to be Desaguliers. See Sadler's "Masonic Facts and Fictions," p. 12.

³ Gould, "Four Old Lodges," p. 9.

⁴ See the above.

the change from purely Operative to purely Speculative Freemasonry, were all members of No. 4.

Lodge No. 2 died in after days, and Nos. 2 and 3 lived on in quiet, the former indeed slumbering, while No. 1, becoming known as the "Lodge of Antiquity," played a prominent part in the history of the Grand Lodge of England. Under the leadership of William Preston, Lodge No. 1 was the cause of a breach in the progress of the Fraternity, which at one time threatened to be very disastrous to the cause of Freemasonry, though happily it proved to be temporary in its duration.

Because of the part taken by the "Lodge of Antiquity" in this proceeding, in which it sought to defend itself on the ground that as one of the four old Lodges it was entitled to certain privileges and exemptions from the authority of the Grand Lodge, which did not belong to the younger Lodges, that we have deemed it necessary to take a glance at the condition of these four primary Lodges, as preliminary to the history of the contest in which one of them was engaged.

In this contest No. 1, or the "Lodge of Antiquity," alone was prominent. Nos. 2 and 3 had become extinct or nearly so, and No. 4 took no other part in the dispute than that of remaining loyal to the Grand Lodge.

The history of the disputes between the "Lodge of Antiquity" and the Grand Lodge of England, which ended in the founding of a fourth Grand Lodge within the jurisdiction of England, may be briefly related as follows:

During the Grand Mastership of the Duke of Manchester, the Master, Wardens, and a part of the members of the "Lodge of Antiquity," under a resolution of the Lodge, celebrated the festival of St. John the Evangelist in the year 1777. They attended divine service at St. Dunstan's Church in Fleet Street, walking there and returning to the "Mitre Tavern" in the clothing of the Order, and this without having obtained a Dispensation for the procession from the Grand Master or his Deputy.

This was a breach of the law of the Grand Lodge which prescribed that no Freemason should attend any public procession clothed with the badges and ensigns of the Order, unless a Dispensation for that purpose was obtained from the Grand Master or his Deputy. The penalty for a violation of this law was to for-

feit all the rights and privileges of the Society and lose the benefits of the general fund of charity.

This law, which had been enacted in 1754, must have been well known to the Master and the members of the Lodge. Its open violation by them in the face of that knowledge would lead us to agree to the statement of Findel that they wished to come to an open rupture with the authority to whom they owed loyalty.¹

Such willful trespass of the law was very properly condemned by the Grand Lodge. "Various opinions," says Preston, "were formed on the subject, and several brethren were highly disgusted."

We confess to surprise that there should be more than one opinion of the unlawfulness of an act which openly violates a written statute. But it is very natural that the guilty parties to an offence, if they are not penitent, should be "disgusted" with the punishment which has followed.

Another circumstance soon followed which, according to Preston, tended still further to widen the rift between Lodge and Grand Lodge.

For some alleged misconduct the Lodge had expelled three of its members. The Grand Lodge, deeming as we may fairly suppose that some injustice had been done, ordered them to be reinstated.

Preston says that the Grand Lodge interfered without proper investigation. But it can not be presumed upon the authority of a party to the affair that the Grand Lodge would have exercised this high power of reinstatement without a fair examination of all the circumstances connected with the original expulsion. The good old principle must here prevail that in respect to all acts of an official nature, the presumption is that they have been fairly executed, and that all has been rightly and duly performed until the contrary is shown.

Unfortunately, it is almost wholly upon Preston, in his edition of 1781, that we must depend for our authority in the recital of this history. But his statement must be taken with all the allowance due to an active supporter of the one side to the dispute. Preston was a prominent actor and indeed a leader in this contest.

¹ "History of Freemasonry," Lyon's translation, p. 181.

The Lodge vainly resisted this act of the Grand Lodge. Efforts were made to readmit the expelled members. "Matters," says Preston, "were agitated to the extreme on both sides; resolutions were precipitately entered into, and edicts inadvertently issued; memorials and remonstrances were presented." Finally an open rupture ensued.

The Lodge withdrew the attendance of its Master and Warden as representatives from the Quarterly Communications, but continued to exercise its functions as a Lodge, independently of the jurisdiction of the Grand Lodge. It issued a Manifesto in which it detailed its grievances and asserted its rights and appealed for sympathy and support to the Grand Lodges of Scotland, Ireland, and York.

The Grand Lodge of England on its part was not less resolute. It expelled the unruly members of the Lodge, extended its protection to the three members whose expulsion had been indicated as the first cause of all the difficulties, and recognizing them as the only lawful representatives of the "Lodge of Antiquity," ordered, but in vain, a surrender to them of the property of the Lodge.

The position now assumed by the "Lodge of Antiquity" was precisely that which it had occupied before its union in 1717 with the three other Lodges in the establishment of a Grand Lodge, namely, that of a Lodge, instituted without a Warrant, and by the mere consent of its founders, as all the Operative Lodges had been instituted prior to the formation of a Grand Lodge. To place the argument for their position properly before the other Lodges required publicity. A document was accordingly prepared.

The Manifesto of the "Lodge of Antiquity" which was issued on December 16, 1778, is a complete showing of the grounds on which the Lodge based its right to assume independency and finally to accept from the Grand Lodge at York the rank and title of "The Grand Lodge of England, South of the Trent." Therefore it is very necessary, to a correct understanding of these important transactions, that the reader should be placed in possession of a copy of the document. The Manifesto is accordingly here printed as follows:¹

¹This copy is from Bro. Hughan's "History of Freemasonry in York" (American edition, p. 117), and is one of the most interesting documents in that valuable work.

TO ALL REGULAR, FREE AND ACCEPTED MASONS.

WHEREAS, the Society of Free Masons is universally acknowledged to be of ancient standing and great repute in this kingdom, as by our Records and Printed Constitutions, it appears that the first Grand Lodge in England was held at York, in the year 926, by virtue of a Royal Charter granted by King Athelstan, and under the patronage and government of this Grand Lodge, the Society considerably increased; and the ancient charges and regulations of the Order so far obtained the sanction of Kings and Princes, and other eminent persons, that they always paid due allegiance to the said Grand Assembly.

AND WHEREAS, it appears, by our Records, that in the year 1567, the increase of Lodges in the South of England, being so great as to require some Nominal Patron to superintend their government, it was resolved that a person under the title of Grand Master for the South should be appointed for that purpose, with the approbation of the Grand Lodge at York, to whom the whole Fraternity at large were bound to pay tribute and acknowledge subjection. And after the appointment of such Patron, Masonry flourished under the guardianship of him and his successors in the South, until the Civil Wars and other intestine commotions interrupted the assemblies of the Brethren.

AND WHEREAS, it also appears that in the year 1693, the Meetings of the Fraternity in their regular Lodges in the South became less frequent and chiefly occasional, except in or near places where great works were carried on. At which time the "Lodge of Antiquity" or (as it was then called) the Old Lodge of St. Paul, with a few others of small note, continued to meet under the patronage of Sir Christopher Wren, and assisting him in rearing that Superb Structure from which this respectable Lodge derived its Title. But on completing this Edifice in 1710, and Sir Christopher Wren's retiring into the country, the few remaining Lodges in London and its suburbs, continued without any nominal Patron, in a declining state for about the space of seven years.

AND WHEREAS, in the year 1717, the Fraternity in London agreed to cement under a new Grand Master, and with that view the Old Lodge of St. Paul, jointly with three other Lodges, assem-

bled in form, constituted themselves a nominal Grand Lodge *pro tempore* (for the time being) and elected a Grand Master to preside over their future general meetings, whom they afterwards invested with a power to constitute subordinate Lodges, and to convene the Fraternity at stated periods in Grand Lodge, in order to make Laws, with their consent and approbation, for the good government of the Society at large.

BUT SUBJECT to certain conditions and restrictions then expressly stipulated, and which are more fully set forth in the 39th article of the General Regulations in the first *Book of Constitutions*, this article, with thirty-eight others, was afterwards at a meeting of the Brethren in and about the cities of London and Westminster, in the year 1721, solemnly approved of, ratified and confirmed by them, and signed in their presence by the Master and Wardens of the Four old Lodges on the one part, and Philip, Duke of Wharton, then Grand Master, Dr. Desaguliers, D.G.M., Joshua Timson and William Hawkins, Grand Wardens, and the Masters and Wardens of sixteen Lodges which had been constituted by the Fraternity, betwixt 1717 and 1721, on the other part. And these articles the Grand Master engaged for himself and his successors, in all time coming, to observe and keep sacred and inviolable. By these prudent precautions the ancient Land-marks (as they are properly styled) of the four old Lodges were intended to be secured against any encroachments on their Masonic Rights and Privileges.

AND WHEREAS, of late years, notwithstanding the said solemn engagement in the year 1721, sundry innovations and encroachments have been made, and are still making on the original plan and government of Masonry, by the present nominal Grand Lodge in London, highly injurious to the institution itself, and tending to subvert and destroy the ancient rights and privileges of the Society, more particularly of those members of it under whose sanction, and by whose authority the said Grand Lodge was first established and now exists.

AND WHEREAS, at the present time there only remains one of the said four original ancient Lodges—The Old Lodge of St. Paul, or as it is now emphatically styled, the “Lodge of Antiquity.” Two of the said four ancient Lodges having been extinct many years, and the Master of the other of them having on the

DANIEL COXE
First Deputized Grand Master in North American Colonies, 1730



part of his Lodge, in open Grand Lodge, relinquished all such inherent rights and privileges which, as a private Lodge, acting by an immemorial Constitution it enjoyed. But the "Lodge of Antiquity," conscious of its own dignity, which the Members thereof are resolutely determined to support, and justly incensed at the violent measures and proceedings which have been lately adopted and pursued by the said nominal Grand Lodge, wherein they have assumed an unlawful prerogative over the "Lodge of Antiquity," in manifest breach of the aforesaid 39th article, by which means the peaceful government of that respectable Lodge has been repeatedly interrupted, and even the original independent power thereof, in respect to its own Internal Government, disputed.

THEREFORE, and on account of the Arbitrary Edicts and Laws which the said nominal Grand Lodge has, from time to time, presumed to issue and attempted to enforce, repugnant to the ancient Laws and principles of Free Masonry, and highly injurious to the "Lodge of Antiquity,"

WE, the Master, Wardens and Members of the "Lodge of Antiquity," considering ourselves bound in duty, as well as honour, to preserve inviolable the ancient rights and privileges of the Order, and as far as in our power, to hand them down to posterity in their native purity and excellence, do hereby, for ourselves, and our successors, solemnly disavow and discountenance such unlawful measures and proceedings of the said nominal Grand Lodge; and do hereby declare and announce to all our Masonic brethren throughout the Globe: That the said Grand Lodge, has by such arbitrary conduct, evidently violated the conditions expressed in the aforesaid 39th article of the General Regulations, in the observance of which article the permanency of their authority solely depended.

And in consequence thereof, **WE**, do by these presents retract from and recall all such rights and powers as **WE**, or our predecessors, did conditionally give to the said nominal Grand Lodge in London; and do hereby disannul and make void all future Edicts and Laws, which the said Grand Lodge may presume to issue and enforce, by virtue of such sanction, as representatives of the antient and honorable Society of Free and Accepted Masons.

AND WHEREAS we have, on full enquiry and due examination, happily discovered, that the aforesaid truly antient Grand Lodge at York does still exist, and have authentic Records to produce of their antiquity, long before the establishment of the nominal Grand Lodge in London in the year 1717; We do, therefore, hereby solemnly avow, acknowledge and admit the Authority of the said Most Worshipful Grand Lodge at York, as the truly antient and only regular governing Grand Lodge of Masons in England, to whom the Fraternity all owe and are rightfully bound to pay allegiance.

AND WHEREAS, the present members of the said Grand Lodge at York have acknowledged the antient power and authority of the "Lodge of Antiquity" in London as a private Lodge and have proposed to form an alliance with the said Lodge, on the most generous and disinterested principles,— We do hereby acknowledge this generous mark of their friendship towards us, and gratefully accept their liberal, candid and ingenuous offers of alliance: — And do hereby, from a firm persuasion of the justice of our cause, announce a general union with all Regular Masons throughout the world, who shall join us in supporting the original principles of Free Masonry, in promoting and extending the authority of the said truely antient Grand Lodge at York, and under such respectable auspices in propagating Masonry on its pure, genuine and original plan.

AND LASTLY, we do earnestly solicit the hearty concurrence of all regular Lodges of the Fraternity in all places where Free Masonry is legally established to enable us to carry into execution the aforesaid plan, which is so apparently beneficial to our most excellent institution, and at the present critical juncture, so essentially necessary to curb the arbitrary power which has been already exerted, or which, hereafter, may be illegally assumed, by the nominal Grand Lodge in London, and so timely prevent such unmasonic proceedings from becoming a disgrace to the Society at large.

By Order of the Right Worshipful Lodge of Antiquity, in open Lodge assembled, this 16th day of December A.D., 1778, A. L. 5778.

J. SEALY, *Secretary.*

Before proceeding to the arguments given in this Manifesto by the "Lodge of Antiquity," to defend its action in withdrawing from the Grand Lodge, it will be proper to say, that as a historical document it is easily open to attack.

The statement that the first Grand Lodge was held at York under a Charter granted by King Athelstan in the 10th century, is founded on the mere tradition contained in the *Legend of the Craft*. This assertion was denied by the Freemasons of York, who credited the origin of their Society to a much earlier period. The statement has been doubted or disbelieved by some of the most eminent Masonic scholars of the present day. Finally, there is no substantial historical proof that there was ever a Grand Lodge or Grand Master in England before the second decade of the 18th century.

The assertion that in 1567 the Grand Lodge at York appointed a Grand Master for the south of England, and that he and the Fraternity under him "were bound to pay tribute and acknowledge subjection" to the Grand Lodge of York, is not supported by historical evidence. Anderson, who was ever tempted to weave history out of legends, does indeed record the existence of a Grand Lodge holding annual communications at York,¹ and tells us the somewhat doubtful story of Queen Elizabeth and Grand Master Sackville. He also states that it was a tradition of the old Freemasons that in 1567, on the demission of Sir Thomas Sackville, two Grand Masters were chosen, one for the north and one for the south, but he makes no allusion to the position of the latter as subordinate to the former. He makes no further mention of the Grand Lodge at York in the following pages of the *Book of Constitutions*, but always speaks of the Grand Master and the Grand Lodge at London as the sole Masonic authority in England.

Thus, unhistorical and merely traditional as is the authority of Anderson on this subject, it completely fails to give any support to the assertion of the writer of the Manifesto, that in the 16th century the Grand Lodge at York was the supreme Masonic power of all England, and that it delegated a subordinate rank

¹ When Bro. Woodford in his Essay on the "Connection of York with the History of Free-masonry in England," asserted that the statement in the Manifesto was "the only existing evidence that in 1567 there was a Grand Lodge at York," this passage by Anderson must have escaped his attention.

and position to a "nominal Grand Master" for the south of the kingdom.

From this Manifesto it will be seen that the "Lodge of Antiquity" withdrew its allegiance to the Grand Lodge of England, because of the wrong it supposed that body had inflicted upon it by the reinstatement of certain members whom it had expelled. The Lodge then asserted its independence and attempted to resume the position which it had occupied before the organization of the Grand Lodge, as a Lodge working without a Warrant.

In defense of its action, the Lodge refers in the Manifesto to the 39th General Regulation which it says had been violated by the Grand Lodge in its treatment of the "Lodge of Antiquity."

A liberal construction of that Regulation fails to support any such theory. The 39th Regulation simply recognizes the inherent power of the Grand Lodge to make new regulations or to alter the old ones, provided that the landmarks be preserved, and that the new regulation be adopted at a stated communication by a majority of the Brethren present. But there is no distinct charge of the violation of a landmark by the Grand Lodge.

The whole tenor of the Thirty-nine Regulations adopted in 1721 is to make the Grand Lodge a supreme Masonic power. It is, moreover, provided in the 8th Regulation that no number of Brethren shall withdraw from the Lodge in which they were made and form a new Lodge without the consent of the Grand Master.

The facts are briefly these: The Grand Lodge reinstated three members who we are bound to presume had been wrongly expelled. The Lodge refused to recognize the act of reinstatement, and withdrew from its allegiance to the Grand Lodge. Thus assuming independence, the Lodge proceeded to work out a Warrant, under its old Operative Constitution and without the consent or approval of the Grand Lodge.

The Grand Lodge refused to admit the legality of this act. It continued to recognize the three members and any others who adhered to them as the true "Lodge of Antiquity," and it viewed the disobedient members as Freemasons who had violated the 8th Regulation by withdrawing from their Lodge and joining a new Lodge without the Grand Master's Warrant.

Bro. Robert Freke Gould, in his *History of the Four Old Lodges*,¹ has advanced the doctrine that the "Lodge of Antiquity" had a legal right to secede from the Grand Lodge. He supports his opinion by the remarkable argument that if the Grand Lodge had a right to expel a Lodge from the Union, that is, to erase it from the roll of Lodges, this would imply a like right in a subordinate Lodge to withdraw or secede from the Union of Lodges or the Grand Lodge. The adoption of such a doctrine would make every Grand Lodge a merely temporary organization, subject at any moment to be crippled by the arbitrary withdrawal of as many Lodges as thought proper to exercise this privilege of secession. This would inevitably be a termination to all power of discipline and of a controlling government. He unfortunately sought to illustrate his views by a reference to the American Constitution which he supposes to have conceded to any one or more of the States the right of secession. This doctrine, generally called a "political heresy," though at one time maintained by many Southern Statesmen, was always disavowed by the people of the North, and finally forever erased by the severe test and verdict of a four years' war.

The fact is that the four old Lodges entered voluntarily into the compact which resulted in the establishment of a Grand Lodge in London in the year 1717. The Regulations adopted by the Grand Lodge four years afterwards, for its government and that of its subordinates, were approved and accepted by all the Lodges then existing, among which were the four Founder Lodges. The names of the Master and Wardens of the "Lodge of Antiquity" head the list of the signers of the Act of Approbation. The "Lodge of Antiquity" was, therefore, forever bound by the compact, and by regulations enacted under that authority.

Moreover, by the compact made prior to the enactment of the Thirty-nine Regulations, and which was entered into by the four old Lodges, it was agreed that in future every Lodge should owe its existence to the consent of the Grand Master expressed by his Warrant of Constitution. Such has been the invariable practice, not only in England but in every country where Freemasonry penetrated.

The four Lodges were exempted as an act of courtesy from the duty of applying for Warrants. They were permitted to continue

¹ "Four Old Lodges," p. 28.

their labors under the old system of Operative Freemasonry by authority of a self-constitution through which they had been established under the old system of Operative Freemasonry which had existed prior to the organization of the Grand Lodge.

But this was the only distinct privilege they possessed. In all other matters, every Lodge was equally subjected to the control of the Grand Lodge, and to the constant supervision of the Grand Master. This system of government, so different from that of the Operative Freemasonry which had previously prevailed, had been accepted by the four original Lodges. They themselves started it. They had accepted all the consequences of the great change, and it was no longer in the power of any one of them, at any future period, to set aside, without the consent of all parties, the mutually binding contract into which they had entered.

All the regulations adopted after their compact refer in general terms to the collective body of Lodges without making any exception in favor of the four original Lodges. Especially was this the fact with respect to the Thirty-nine Regulations adopted in 1721. The laws therein enacted were just as applicable to Lodge No. 1 as to Lodge No. 20, for the former Lodge, as well as the latter, and all the intermediate ones, formally accepted them and declared that they and the Charges, published by Anderson, should be received in every Lodge, "as the only Constitutions of Free and Accepted Masons."¹

Therefore it follows that in withdrawing from the Grand Lodge and establishing a Lodge, independent of its authority, the unruly members of the "Lodge of Antiquity" acted illegally, and violated the Constitutions which the Freemasons of England had accepted for half a century as the foundation law of the Order.

On second sober thought, Preston himself, undoubtedly ring-leader in this dispute, came to the above point of view. When he was restored to the privileges of Freemasonry, in 1789, Bro. Preston expressed his regret for what he had done in the past, and his wish to conform in future to the laws of the Grand Lodge.²

¹ See the act of Approbation in Anderson's 1723 edition of the "Constitutions," p. 74.

² The official record of the Grand Lodge for November 25, 1789, says that Preston and seven other members of the "Lodge of Antiquity," who had been expelled in 1779, had "signified their concern that through misrepresentation, as they conceived, they should have incurred the displeasure of that Assembly, and their wish to be restored to the privileges of the Society, to the laws of which they were ready to conform." But in later issues of his "Illustrations of Masonry" he says "Our reunion with the Society has not induced me to vary a well-grounded opinion, or deviate from the strict line of consistency which I have hitherto pursued." See p. 285, 1812 edition.

As the Grand Lodge had made no concessions, Preston thus admitted the standing of the law, against which as being unconstitutional, he and his associates had been contending for eleven years.

Some members of the "Lodge of Antiquity" having declared their independence of the Grand Lodge, and continued after their expulsion from the Society to hold their Lodge and to perform the work of Freemasonry, the Grand Lodge permitted those members who had maintained their obedience to assemble as the real "Lodge of Antiquity" without a Warrant, and to appear by their Master and Wardens at the Grand Communications as the representatives of the Lodge.

There were thus two Lodges of Antiquity in the field — the Lodge recognized by the Grand Lodge, consisting of the members who had refused to take part in the secession proceedings; and the Lodge consisting of the members who had withdrawn from their allegiance and had established themselves as an independent body, working under the old Operative system.

Of the former Lodge, it is unnecessary for the present history to take any further notice. Probably it pursued "the even tenor of its way." In the lists of Lodges made during the period of the trouble, its name and number appear without alteration as the "Lodge of Antiquity No. 1, Freemasons' Tavern, Great Queen Street, formerly the 'Goose and Gridiron,' St. Paul's Church Yard."¹

The seceding Lodge very soon proceeded to adopt measures still more vigorous in their character.

We have been told that it applied to the Grand Lodge at York for a sanction of its acts, and for authority to continue its existence as a Lodge. This is not correct. The true statement of the relative positions of the Grand Lodge at York and the independent Grand Lodge of Antiquity is fully set forth in letters between certain members of the two bodies.²

This correspondence shows that Bro. Jacob Bussey, the Grand Secretary of the Grand Lodge of York, while in London had an interview with some of the members of the "Lodge of Antiquity." Under a misunderstanding of the views of these Brethren,

¹ List of Lodges, 1781, from the Calendar for 1788. See "Four Old Lodges," p. 68.

² Given in Bro. Hughan's "History of Freemasonry in York," pp. 74-76.

ren, on his return home he stated that it was their desire to obtain a Warrant of Constitution as a Lodge from the York Grand Lodge.

Learning the fact of this mistake from a letter, August 29th, sent by Bussey after his return to York to Bro. Bradley, the Junior Warden of the "Lodge of Antiquity," the officers of that Lodge addressed a letter on September 16, 1778, to the Grand Master and Brethren of the Grand Lodge at York. This letter contains the following clear statement of their views:

"Though we should be happy to promote Masonry under the Banners of the Grand Lodge at York, an application by petition for a Warrant for a Constitution to act as a private Lodge here was never our intention, as we considered ourselves sufficiently empowered by the Immemorial Constitution of our Lodge, to execute every duty we can wish as a private Lodge of Masons."

However, they were ready, they go on to say, if satisfied by proofs of the existence of the Grand Lodge at York before the year 1717, to accept from it a Constitutional authority to act in London as a Grand Lodge for that part of England which is south of the river Trent.

The Grand Secretary in his August letter appears to have furnished the required proofs. Therefore we find that Bradley, the Junior Warden of the "Lodge of Antiquity," wrote to him on September 22, 1778.¹ In this letter he again disclaimed any desire on the part of the "Lodge of Antiquity" to receive a Warrant as a private Lodge. But he expressed its willingness to accept "a Warrant or Deputation to a few members of the 'Lodge of Antiquity' to act as a Grand Lodge for that part of England, south of the Trent, with a power to constitute Lodges in that division when properly applied for, and a regular correspondence to be kept up and some token of allegiance to be annually given on the part of the brethren thus authorized to act."

The same letter contained a list of the names of the brethren of the "Lodge of Antiquity" as the persons suggested to be placed in the Warrant or Deputation, should it be granted. Although at this distant time and place we are unable to verify the fact, it may be fairly presumed that the suggestion was accepted, and that when the Deputation was put into effect, the following Brethren constituted the first officers of the new Grand Lodge:

¹ Benjamin Bradley's Letter of September 22d. See Hughan's "History," p. 76.

JOHN WILSON, Esq., Master of the Lodge of Antiquity, as Grand Master.

WILLIAM PRESTON, Past Master of the same Lodge, as Deputy Grand Master.

BENJAMIN BRADLEY, Junior Warden of the same, as Senior Grand Warden.

GILBERT BUCHANAN, Secretary of the same, as Junior Grand Warden.

JOHN SEALY, Senior Steward of the same, as Grand Secretary.

Further correspondence continued for more than a year, but finally the "Warrant of Confirmation" was sent, and on April 19th the "Grand Lodge of England, South of the Trent" was set at work, the Grand Master installed, and other officers appointed.

There are two things which are here worthy of notice as historical facts.

In the first place, the body thus erected was in no proper sense a sovereign and independent Grand Lodge, as Grand Lodges are known to be at this day and as was at the time the Grand Lodge at London. It was rather, though not so called by name, a sort of Provincial Grand Lodge, erected by a Grand Lodge, to which it acknowledged that it owed allegiance and to which it paid an annual contribution in money and a fee of two guineas for every Warrant of Constitution that it granted.

In the second place, it was not to the "Lodge of Antiquity" that the Deputation was granted, as that body never changed its condition or its title as a private Lodge. The Deputation was given, it is true, to certain of its officers, and its Master was most probably the first Grand Master, as there was no other source whence the officers could be drawn.

As soon as the new Grand Lodge was inaugurated, the "Lodge of Antiquity" became subordinate to it. According to a return made in March, 1789, the Lodges then under the Grand Lodge South of the Trent, exclusive of the "Lodge of Antiquity," are said to be No. 1, or the Lodge of Perfect Observance, and No. 2, or the Lodge of Perseverance and Triumph. These Lodges were respectively Warranted on August 9 and November 15, 1779.

The "Lodge of Antiquity," like the Grand Steward's Lodge in the Grand Lodge of England, seems to have assumed the lead

without a number. That was a right which it claimed from its "Immemorial Constitution."

Preston said¹ that "a Grand Lodge, under the banner of the Grand Lodge in York, is established in London, and several Lodges are already constituted under that banner, while the 'Lodge of Antiquity' acts independent by virtue of its own authority."

If the word "several" is here properly applied, other Warrants must have been issued between July 1, 1780, when the two Lodges mentioned above were said to be "the only Lodges" which had been constituted, and the time when Preston made his statement. But of this we have no other evidence.

The "Grand Lodge of England, South of the Trent" does not appear to have made any especial mark in Masonic history. It originated in a mistaken view, assumed by its founders, of their rights and privileges. These views were opposed by all the other Lodges which composed the Mother Grand Lodge and were finally abandoned by the original promoters.

At the Grand Feast of the Grand Lodge of England, held in 1790, an agreement was effected principally through the efforts of Bro. William Birch, a Past Master of the "Lodge of Antiquity." Unanimity was happily restored. The Manifesto of the "Lodge of Antiquity," in which it had asserted its claims and defended its conduct, was revoked. The Master and Wardens of the Lodge resumed, as heretofore, their seats in the Grand Lodge whence they had seceded in 1778. The Brethren of the Lodge who had maintained their loyalty were reunited with the original members. The "Grand Lodge of England, South of the Trent," after a career of little more than ten years, ceased to exist.²

This episode in the history of English Freemasonry, bitter as were the feelings which the separation aroused, has not been without advantage in its results. It permanently settled one important principle of Masonic jurisprudence. The old Operative practice or law which recognized the right of a competent number of Freemasons to establish a Lodge without the authority of a Warrant, has been forever erased by the change of the Operative Art into a Speculative Science, and that in all time to come

¹ "Illustrations of Masonry," edition of 1781, p. 295. In the later editions, published after the reunion, these statements are omitted.

² See Preston, "Illustrations of Masonry," Oliver's edition, p. 249.

the supreme authority to grant Warrants and to constitute Lodges is vested solely in Grand Lodges.

So essential to the harmony and the lasting usefulness of Speculative Freemasonry is this principle that it was almost worth a ten years' struggle to secure its adoption.

We have thus seen that in the year 1780 there were in England four bodies claiming to be Grand Lodges:

1. The Grand Lodge of England, established in London in the year 1717.
2. The Grand Lodge of All England, established at York in the year 1725.
3. The Grand Lodge of England, according to the Old Institutions, established at London in the year 1753, and
4. The Grand Lodge of England, South of the Trent, established also at London in the year 1780.¹

The second of these self-styled Grand Lodges was really a Mother Lodge, and that its organization as a Grand Lodge was not in accord with the precedent established eight years before by the pioneer Grand Lodge at London.

The third and fourth of these professed Grand Lodges were secessions from the primitive Grand Lodge, and their claim of authority was in violation of the compact of 1721, and was unsupported by any principle of Masonic law which then prevailed and was recognized by the Craft.

The Grand Lodge at York and the Grand Lodge South of the Trent were both in the course of time quietly absorbed into the Grand Lodge of England, and thus ceased to exist independently.

The Grand Lodge according to the Old Institutions, more commonly known as the Atholl Grand Lodge, or the Grand Lodge of Antients, had a higher vitality, lived for a longer period, became prominent as a successful rival of the older body, and with it was eventually merged in 1813 as the United Grand Lodge of England.

But a future chapter must be devoted to the history of this important and interesting event.

¹ The four Grand Lodges mentioned above do not comprise all that have existed in England. Evidence has been discovered of another "Supreme" Grand Lodge in London, 1770-1775, probably of Scotch Freemasons having control of four or five Lodges. See *Ars, Quatuor Coronati Lodge*, vol. xviii, pp. 69-90; also vol. xxii, part 2, p. 133. There is also the Wigan Grand Lodge of 1823 to 1869 whose "History" has been written by Eustace B. Beesley, President of the Manchester Association for Masonic Research, England, which published the work, 1920.

CHAPTER EIGHTY-SEVEN

THE UNION OF THE TWO GRAND LODGES OF ENGLAND



ITH the fusion of the two rival Grand Lodges — the “Antients” and the “Modernes” — we arrive at the most important and promising event that has occurred in a hundred years of the history of Speculative Freemasonry following the organization of 1717. The mutual protests and the resulting bitterness of two bodies, each practicing almost the same rites and ceremonies, both professing to be actuated by the same principles, and each in its own way laboring toward the accomplishment of the same objects, and each claiming to be the Supreme Head of the Masonic Institution while each accused its antagonist of being irregular in organization and a user of improper and unlawful authority, could not have failed in due course of time to impair the purity and detract from the usefulness of the institution.

A strong sentiment of active opposition on the part of the “Modernes” had grown with the increasing success of their rivals. In 1777 the older Grand Lodge had declared “that the persons who assemble in London and elsewhere in the character of Masons, calling themselves Antient Masons, and at present said to be under the patronage of the Duke of Atholl, are not to be countenanced or acknowledged by any regular Lodge or Mason under the constitution of England; nor shall any regular Mason be present at any of their conventions to give a sanction to their proceedings, under the penalty of forfeiting the privileges of the Society, nor shall any person initiated at any of their irregular meetings be admitted into any Lodge without being re-made.”¹

This edict was followed at various periods during the rest of the century by others of equal severity. The “Modern Freema-

¹ Preston gives this decree in full; Noorthouck only summarizes it. See Preston, “Illustrations,” Oliver’s edition, p. 242, and Noorthouck, “Constitutions,” p. 323.

sons," assured of the legality of their own organization, are to be excused and even justified for the intensity of their opposition and even for the harshness of their language. They felt assured, from all the historical documents with which they were familiar, that the Grand Lodge organized in 1717 was the only legitimate authority in English Freemasonry. Therefore it was natural that they should denounce as a fraud any pretension to the possession of that authority by others.

The "Antients," notwithstanding the positiveness with which they asserted their claim to a superior antiquity, must, perhaps unconsciously at times, have shown their weakness. They were more cautious and therefore felt it far from necessary to be very abusive, though the manners of the times and the unavoidable heat of the argument must occasionally have strained the tempers of those taking part in the discussions. But these displays were checked by the natural desire of the officials to keep the situation under control and for presenting the most favorable appearance to the brethren and to public inspection. All were unwilling to enter into discussions which might unearth facts to injure the solidity of their claims.

Thus we find Dermott saying: "I have not the least antipathy against the gentlemen of the Modern Society; but, on the contrary, love and respect them."¹ Although in a later edition he complains that this courteous sentiment was not returned, he admits the equal right of each society to choose a Grand Master, and expresses the hope to see in his life-time a unity between the two.²

Nor was this expression a mere pretense. The words had something more than politeness for their foundation. The Grand Lodge of "Antients," in a circular addressed to the Craft in 1801, made the following declaration:

"We have too much respect for every Society that acts under the Masonic name, however imperfect the imitation, to enter into a war of reproaches; and, therefore, we will not retort on an Institution, established in London, for some years, under high auspices, the unfounded aspersions into which a part of their body have suffered themselves to be surprised."³

¹ "Ahiman Rezon," edition of 1764, p. 24.

² "Ahiman Rezon," edition of 1778, pp. 43-44.

³ "Ahiman Rezon," edition of 1807, p. 124.

But prudence paved the way to greater friendliness. About the beginning of the 19th century many leading Freemasons among the "Moderns" began to recognize the necessity of a union of the two rival Societies. We are compelled to believe, or at least to strongly suspect, that at first the steadily growing success of the "Antients" was a controlling motive in this desire for a fusion of the two Grand Lodges.

Over the world at this time there were Grand Lodges of "Antients," or as they called themselves, "Grand Lodges of Antient York Masons," which were related to the London body. These Grand Lodges were to be found in Canada, Pennsylvania, Maryland, South Carolina, New York, Massachusetts, Nova Scotia, Gibraltar, and most of the provinces and islands of the East and West Indies, and the "Antients" also had the benefit of a recognition by the Grand Lodges of Ireland and Scotland.¹

Elated with this success and with the spread of their authority, the "Antients" did not at first incline favorably to the idea of a union of the Craft. They were willing to accept such a union, but it must be without the slightest concession on their part.

Long before the close of the 18th century the "Antients" had made an important change in the character of the claim for regularity which they had advanced in the beginning of the contest.

Some time after the Grand Lodge of England, according to the "Old Institutions," was organized, Laurence Dermott, writing in its defense, sought to credit it with an origin older than that claimed by the Grand Lodge which had been instituted in 1717, and asserted that that rival organization "was defective in number and consequently defective in form and capacity."²

Of course his reference to "defective in number" meant that in his judgment the Grand body could not have been legally organized by no more than the "Four Old Lodges." Dermott's views on this point have not found general acceptance. Moreover, it is by no means sure that he was justified even in his claim that no more than the "Four Old Lodges" were represented at the organization in 1717. The records show that the Grand Lodge came into existence through the coöperation of "the only four Lodges in being in the south of England at that time, with some

¹ "Ahiman Rezon," edition of 1807, p. 117.

² "Ahiman Rezon," edition of 1778, p. 14.

other old brethren.”¹ We will not speculate upon the Masonic affiliations of these “old brethren” wherever they had their Lodges. Sufficient for us is it that they took part in the institution of the Grand Lodge and that the act is of universally accepted legality.

Dermott also declared that when this Grand Lodge was about to be established, “some joyous companions,” who were only Fellow Crafts, met together, and being entirely ignorant of the “Master’s part” had invented a “new composition” which they called the Third degree.²

At a later period the “Antients” appear to have abandoned, or at least to have ceased to press this claim of theirs to a priority of existence and to a greater regularity of organization. More mature reflection and the force of historical evidence led their leaders to the conviction that both of these claims were easily attacked.

After the death of Laurence Dermott they began to confine their claim to legality, and their defense of the independence from the older Grand Lodge upon the single ground that the latter had made innovations upon the ancient landmarks, and by their change of words and ceremonies had ceased any longer to maintain the pure system of Speculative Freemasonry.

While these “variations in the established forms” were maintained by the Grand Lodge of “Moderna,” the Grand Lodge of “Antients” declared it impossible to hold Masonic intercourse with those who thus deviated from the lawful work of the Order.

The “Antients” were less severe in their language toward their rivals and did not indulge in the harsh censure of the older Grand Lodge. However, they were until after the commencement of the 19th century more averse than that body to a union of the two divisions of the Fraternity, and they met all advances toward that object with something more than indifference. The evidence of this fact is easily seen in the transactions of both bodies.

Thus we learn on the authority of Preston that in November, 1801, charges were presented to the older Grand Lodge against

¹ Preston, “Illustrations of Masonry,” 1812 edition, p. 209.

² “Ahiman Rezon,” p. 35. Dermott did not make these accusations in his earlier editions of the “Ahiman Rezon.” They are first advanced in the edition published in 1778.

some of its members for patronizing and officially acting as principal officers in a Lodge of "Antients." The charge being proved, it was determined that the laws should be enforced against them unless they at once withdrew from such irregular meetings. They solicited the forbearance of the Grand Lodge for three months, hoping that they might be able in that time to effect a union between the two Societies. This indulgence was granted, and that no obstacle might prevent the accomplishment of so desirable an object, the charges against the offending brethren were for the time withdrawn.

A committee of distinguished Freemasons, among whom was the Earl of Moira, who was very popular with the Craft, "Antients" and "Moderns," was appointed to pave the way for the intended union, and every means were ordered to be used to effect that object.

The Acting Grand Master, the Earl of Moira, declared that he should consider the day on which such partnership should be formed as one of the happiest days of his life, and that he was empowered by the Prince of Wales, then Grand Master of the "Moderns," to say that his arms would be ever open to all the Freemasons in the kingdom, indiscriminately.¹

Officially, this was the first open and outspoken proposition for a union of the two Grand Lodges. It came from the "Moderns." Up to that date none had ever been offered by the "Antients," who were silently and successfully pursuing their career — in extending their influence, making Lodges at home and abroad, and securing the popular favor of the Craft.²

However, the effort was not successful. After suspending all active opposition, the older Grand Lodge learned on February 9, 1803, that no measures had been taken to effect a union. At once it resumed the antagonistic position, punished the brethren who had been charged with holding a connection with the "Antients," and unanimously resolved that "whenever it shall appear that any Masons under the English Constitution shall in future attend or countenance any lodge or meeting of persons calling themselves 'Antient Masons' under the sanction of any person

¹ Preston, "Illustrations of Masonry," 1812 edition, p. 377.

² There is no doubt that at that day, in America, certainly, the "Antients" were more popular than the "Moderns."

claiming the title of Grand Master of England, who shall not have been duly elected in the Grand Lodge, the laws of the Society shall not only be strictly enforced against them, but their names shall be erased from the list and transmitted to all the regular Lodges under the Constitution of England.”¹

The means adopted by the “Modern” Grand Lodge to accomplish the much-desired object are not now fully known. But that they were highly distasteful to the “Antients” is very clear from the action of their Grand Lodge adopted on March 2, 1802.

This action was evidently intended as a reply to the proposition of the rival body of “Moderns,” tendered in the preceding November. The declaration of the Grand Lodge of “Antients” is printed in Harper’s edition of the *Ahiman Rezon*, published in 1807.² As this work is not generally within the reach of the Fraternity, and as the document presents a very full and fair expression of the position assumed by the “Antients” at that advanced period in the history of their career, we shall copy it in full.

“It was represented to this Grand Lodge, that notwithstanding the very temperate notice which was taken in the last Quarterly Communication, of certain unprovoked expressions used toward the Fraternity of Antient Masons, by a Society generally known by the appellation of ‘the Modern Masons of England,’ that body has been further prevailed on to make declarations and to proceed to acts at once illiberal and unfounded with respect to the character, pretensions, and antiquity of this institution. It was not a matter of surprise that from the transcendent influence of the pure and unchanged system of Antient Masonry, practiced in our regular Lodges, the solidity of our establishment, the progressive increase of our funded capital, the frequency and extent of our benevolence, and, above all, from the avowed and unalterable bond of union, which has so long and so happily subsisted between us and the Antient Grand Lodges of Scotland, Ireland, America, and the East and West Indies, it should be a most desirable object to the body of Modern Masons to enrol the two Societies under one banner by an act of incorporation; but we did not expect that they would have made use of the

¹ Preston, “Illustrations of Masonry,” 1812 edition, pp. 377-378.

² Pages 125-131.

means which have been attempted to gain the end. Bearing, as they do, the Masonic name, and patronized by many most illustrious persons, we have ever shown a disposition to treat them with respect, and we cannot suppress our feelings of regret, that unmindful of the high auspices by which they are, for the time, distinguished, they should here condescend to the use of language which reflects discredit on their cause. Truth requires no acrimony, and brotherhood disclaims it. It is a species of warfare so inconsistent with the genuine principles of Masonry, that they may wage it without the fear of a retort. Actuated by the benignity which these principles inspire, we shall content ourselves with a tranquil appeal to written record. It is not for two equal, independent and contending institutions to expect that the world will acquiesce in the *ipse dixit* (the personal claims) of either party. We shall not rest our pretensions, therefore, on extracts from our own books, or on documents in our own possession — but out of their own mouths shall we judge them.

"Their *Book of Constitutions*, quarto edition, of the year 1784, p. 240, makes this frank confession: 'Some variations were made in the established forms.' This is their own declaration, and they say that these were made 'more effectually to debar them and their abettors (that is, us, the Antient Masons) from their Lodges.' Now what was the nature of these changes? Fortunately, the dispute did not rest between the two rival bodies; it was not for either to decide which had the claim of regular descent from the ancient stock of the 'York Masons.' There was a competent tribunal. The Masonic world alone could exercise the jurisdiction and pronounce a verdict on the case. Accordingly, after frequent visitations made to our Lodges by the brethren from Scotland and Ireland, who repaired to England, the two Grand Lodges of these parts of the united empire pronounced in our favor and declared that in the Antient Grand Lodge of England the pure, unmixed principles of Masonry — the original and holy obligations — the discipline and the pure science, were preserved. It was not in the forms alone that variations had been made by the modern order. They had innovated on the essential principles, and consequently the Masonic world could not recognize them as brothers.

"In the strict and rigorous, but beautiful, scheme of Antient Masonry, every part of which was founded on the immutable

laws of truth, nothing was left for future ages to correct. There can be no reforms in the cardinal virtues; that which was pure, just, and true as received from the eternal ordinance of the divine Author of all good, must continue the same to all eternity. In this grand mystery, every part of which contributes to a sacred end, even the exteriors of the science were wisely contrived as the fit emblems of the white and spotless lamb, which is the type of Masonic benignity.

"The Grand Lodge can not be more explicit. They will not follow the blameable practice of entering into a public discussion of what ought to be confined to the sanctuary of a regular Lodge. Suffice it to say, that after mature investigation by the only persons who were authorized to pronounce a judgment on the subject, resolutions of correspondence were passed by the Antient Grand Lodges of England, Ireland, and Scotland, which were entered in their respective archives, and which the Fraternity will find in our *Book of Constitutions*.

"These resolutions have been constantly acted upon from that time to the present day. We have since been further strengthened by the formal accession of the Grand Lodges of America and of the East and West Indies to the Union. And it may now be said, without any impeachment of the modernized order, that the phalanx of Antient Masonry is now established to an extent of communication that bids defiance to all malice, however keen, and to all misrepresentation, however specious, to break asunder. May the Eternal Architect of the World preserve the Edifice entire to the latest posterity; for it is the asylum of feeble man against the shafts of adversity, against the perils of strife, and what is his own enemy, against the conflict of his own passions. It draws more close the ties of consanguinity where they are, and creates them where they are not; it inculcates this great maxim as the means of social happiness, that, however separated by seas and distances, distinguished by national character or divided into sects, the whole community of man ought to act toward one another, in all the relations of life, like brothers of the same family, for they are children of the same Eternal Father, and Masonry teaches them to seek, by amendment of their lives, the same place of rest.

"The Antient Grand Lodge of England has thought it due to its character to make this short and decisive declaration, on

the unauthorized attempts that have recently been made to bring about a union with a body of persons who have not entered into the obligations by which we are bound, and who have descended to calumnies and acts of the most unjustifiable kind.

"They desire it therefore to be known to the Masonic world and they call upon their regular lodges, their Past and Present Grand Officers, and their Royal Arches and Masters, their Wardens and Brethren throughout the whole extent of the Masonic communion, to take notice, that they can not and must not receive into the body of a just and perfect Lodge, nor treat as a Brother, any person who has not received the obligations of Masonry according to the Antient Constitutions, as practiced by the United Grand Lodges of England, Scotland, and Ireland, and the regular branches that have sprung from their sanction. And this our unalterable decree.

By Order of the Grand Lodge."

A careful reading of this document will show that the position which had been assumed by the "Antients" at the middle of the 18th century, when they organized their Grand Lodge, was given by them at its close. Dermott maintained that his Grand Lodge was regular in its organization on the very same ground that the organization of the other body was irregular and illegal. One of the reasons he assigned for this illegality was that it had been formed by a less than lawful number of Lodges. There were but four Lodges mentioned as engaged in the organization of the Grand Lodge at London in the year 1717. But Dermott, knowing as he must have known that there was no such law in existence nor ever had been, claimed that "to form a Grand Lodge there must have been the Masters and Wardens of five regular Lodges." He adds that "this is so well known to every man conversant with the ancient laws, usages, customs, and ceremonies of Master Masons, that it is needless to say more."¹ Therefore, in his opinion, the Grand Lodge of 1717 "was defective in number and consequently defective in form and capacity."

Another charge made by Dermott against the "Moderns" was that they were ignorant of the true Third degree and had made a mere imitation of it, a "new composition" as he calls it.

¹ "Ahiman Rezon," edition of 1778, p. 18.

But at the close of the century both these charges were abandoned and a new issue was joined. The ground on which the "Antients" rested the defense of their independence in 1738 from the "Modern" Grand Lodge was that that body had made "variations in the established forms"; in other words, that it had put innovations into the ritual.

This would seem to be a singularly surprising instance of misunderstanding, if we did not know the perversity of human nature. Charging the "Moderns" with the practice of innovations, the "Antients" appear to have forgotten that far more serious alterations had been introduced by themselves.

The "Moderns" had only transposed the order of a couple of words of recognition. The "Antients" had separated the parts of the degrees and used them in a fourth degree. Such was the official attitude of the two bodies. But there is much uncertainty as to the actual situation. "Modern" Lodges sometimes practiced degrees not officially endorsed by their Grand Lodge. Nor are we today as sure as some earlier writers upon the subject that the Royal Arch was a product of Dermott or even his predecessors in "Antient" Freemasonry. However, he and his associates did adopt and popularize the degree.

The age was one of adaptation of Masonic means to ends, of fitting the limited supply of material to larger uses, of perfecting laws and customs known by few to the service of the many brethren. Here the "Antients" were skilled, inventive, alert, progressive. Ill did it become these bold adaptors to condemn others for the very acts they themselves committed.

We may exclaim with the Roman satirist: "Who could endure the Gracchi when they complained of sedition?"¹

Less doubtful of the legality of the original organization of the "Modern" Grand Lodge and the correctness of its primitive work, and restricting their charge of irregularity to the existence of innovations, the "Antients," notwithstanding the emphatic language in their address of 1802, in which they had declared the impossibility of recognizing their rivals, had certainly made the way more easy for future friendship.

Had they continued to maintain the theory of Dermott that the Grand Lodge of "Moderns" was an illegal and un-Masonic

¹ Juvenal, Satire II, 24.

body which had never known or had the Master's part, we do not see how the "Moderns" could with consistency and self-respect have tendered, or the "Antients" listened to, any offer of union.

But early in the 19th century there were many Freemasons, especially among the "Moderns," who felt the necessity of an agreement, since the long dissension was destructive of that harmony and fellowship which should characterize the institution. We have seen that the Prince of Wales had in 1801, when he was Grand Master of the "Moderns," expressed his willingness for a union of all English Freemasons. This sentiment was shared at a later period by his brothers, the Dukes of Kent and Sussex.

Of all the distinguished members of the "Modern" Grand Lodge, none was so earnest in the effort to accomplish a reconciliation as the Earl of Moira, who in 1795 had been Acting Grand Master under the Grand Mastership of the Prince of Wales.¹

He had been appointed one of a committee in 1801 to bring about a union of the two Grand Lodges — a mission which was unsuccessful. But he was more fortunate two years afterwards in his efforts for a good understanding between the Grand Lodge of Scotland and the "Modern" Grand Lodge of England.

We have heretofore seen that at an early period in the career of the Atholl Grand Lodge, the Grand Lodges of Ireland and Scotland had been induced, through the influence of Dermott, to take the part of the "Antients" and to recognize them as the only legal Masonic authority in England.

In 1782 the "Modern" Grand Lodge, supposing, it seems mistakenly, that there was some prospect of establishing a friendly correspondence with the sister kingdoms, concurred in a resolution recommending the Grand Master to use every means which in his wisdom he might think proper, for promoting a correspondence with the Grand Lodges of Scotland and Ireland, so far as this should be consistent with the laws of the Society.²

¹ To no person, says Preston, had Masonry for many years been more indebted than to the Earl of Moira (now Marquis of Hastings). Toward the end of the year 1812 his Lordship was appointed Governor-General of India; and it was considered by the Fraternity as only a just mark of respect to invite his Lordship to a farewell banquet previous to his departure from England, and to present him with a valuable Masonic Jewel, as a memorial of their gratitude for his eminent services. "Illustrations of Masonry."

² Noorthouck, "Constitutions," p. 340.

We can not but suppose that this would mean, on the part of the Irish and Scottish brethren, that they should give up their friends, the "Antient Freemasons." Therefore we may infer this to have been the cause of the unsuccessful result of the negotiation. Notwithstanding this resolution, says Preston, the wished-for union was not then fully accomplished.¹

Twenty years had to elapse before a spirit of conciliation was shown by the Grand Lodge of Scotland, and eight more before the Grand Lodge of Ireland exhibited a similar spirit.

At the annual session of the Grand Lodge of Scotland in November, 1803, the Earl of Moira being present, he addressed the Grand Lodge in what Laurie calls an impressive speech, equally remarkable for the eloquence of its sentiments and the energy of its enunciation.

As the account contained in *Laurie's History* is written in that very period while the facts were fresh, it may be considered as reliable and is worth giving in the very words of the author of this work.²

"The Earl of Moira stated that the hearts and arms of the Grand Lodge of England had ever been open for the reception of their seceding brethren, who had obstinately refused to acknowledge their faults and return to the bosom of their Lodge; and that though the Grand Lodge of England differed in a few trifling observances from that of Scotland they had ever entertained for Scottish Masons that affection and regard which it is the object of Freemasonry to cherish and the duty of Freemasons to feel. His Lordship's speech was received by the brethren with loud and reiterated applause — the most unequivocal mark of their approbation of its sentiments."³

Afterwards it was stated by the Earl of Moira that at that communication the Grand Lodge of Scotland had expressed its concern that any difference should exist among the Freemasons of England and that the Lodges meeting under the sanction of the Duke of Atholl should have withdrawn themselves from the protection of the Grand Lodge of England, but hoped that meas-

¹ Preston, "Illustrations of Masonry," 1812 edition, p. 294.

² Laurie's "History of Freemasonry" was published at Edinburgh in 1804 — the last entry in the book is the account of this speech.

³ Laurie's "History of Freemasonry," p. 295.

ures might be adopted to produce a reconciliation, and that the Lodges now holding irregular meetings would return to their duty and again be received into the bosom of the Fraternity.¹

This was certainly an unqualified admission by the Grand Lodge of Scotland that in its previous action in respect to the contending bodies in England it had been in error. It did not now hesitate to style the "Antients," whom it had formerly recognized, irregular Freemasons, and to acknowledge that their organization was unlawful.

The inevitable result was soon to be seen. The Grand Lodge of Scotland entered into fraternal correspondence with the "Modern" Grand Lodge of England and recognized it as the Supreme Authority of English Freemasonry. This good feeling was still further increased by the election in 1805 of the Prince of Wales as Patron and Grand Master of the Grand Lodge of Scotland and the appointment of the Earl of Moira as Acting Grand Master, both of which high offices were respectively held at the same time by the same persons in the "Modern" Grand Lodge of England.

Here then was a thorough reversal of the conditions which had previously existed. In the year 1772 the office of Grand Master, both in England and in Scotland, had been filled by the same person, the Duke of Atholl. But it was over the "Antient" English body that he presided. The result was a close and friendly alliance between the Grand Lodge of Scotland and the Atholl or "Antient" Grand Lodge in England.

Again in the year 1805 we see the Grand Lodge of England and the Grand Lodge of Scotland united under one and the same Grand Master, the Prince of Wales. But now it was the "Modern" Grand Lodge of England that shared the honor of this royal headship with the Scottish Grand Lodge. The result in this latter case was of course exactly the opposite to that which had ensued in the former.

From this time there was no question as to the relations existing between the two Grand Lodges.

Still further to increase the cement of this union, if such strengthening were necessary, was the occurrence soon after of an important event in Scottish Freemasonry.

¹ Preston, "Illustrations of Masonry," 1812 edition, pp. 373-378.

Disputes and divisions which had wrought so much evil in English Freemasonry, at length made their appearance among the Scottish Lodges.

Several Lodges had seceded in the year 1808, from political motives it is believed, from the Grand Lodge of Scotland. They organized an independent body with the title of "The Associated Lodges Seceding from the present Grand Lodge of Scotland." On July 4th of the above year they met in the Canongate Kilwinning Lodge room, and elected a Grand Master.¹

The Grand Lodge of Scotland announced this independent action to the Grand Lodge of England, which expressed its fullest sympathy with the Grand Lodge, approved of the methods it pursued to punish the seceders and to check the secession, and proclaimed the doctrine now universally accepted in Masonic law, that a Grand Lodge, as the representative of the whole Craft, is the sole depository of supreme power.

Thus was the union of the two Grand Lodges still more closely cemented, and the Grand Lodge of Scotland became an earnest advocate and co-worker in the effort to amend the English conflict of Masonic authority.

The Grand Lodge of Ireland addressed a communication to the Grand Lodge of England in the same year, 1808. The Irish Grand Lodge took occasion to applaud the principles of Masonic law set forth by the "Modern" Grand Lodge in the reply to its Scottish sister. The Grand Lodge of Ireland also expressed its desire to coöperate with that of England in maintaining the control of Grand Lodges over individual Lodges. It also pledged itself not to countenance or receive as a Brother any person standing under the displeasure of the Grand Lodge of England for Masonic transgression. It thus cut itself away from its former recognition of the Atholl Grand Lodge.²

It is scarcely necessary to say that this act was received and gladly acknowledged by the "Modern" Grand Lodge with a responsive feeling of fraternity.

¹ We think it is unnecessary and irrelevant to enter here into the history of this secession. The details are freely submitted in Bro. Lyon's "History of the Lodge of Edinburgh," pp. 264-281. We are at this stage of our history of Freemasonry interested only in its supposed influence upon the relations of the Grand Lodges of Scotland and England.

² Preston, "Illustrations of Masonry," 1812 edition, p. 392.

Thus from the year 1808 the three older Grand Lodges of Great Britain were united in an alliance, the leading object of which was the extinction of the disputes and divisions which had prevailed in England for three-quarters of a century and the union of all the jarring elements of English Freemasonry under one head. With such powerful influences at work, it is not surprising that the happy and "devoutly wished-for consummation" was soon effected.

Leading Freemasons of England, on both sides of the contest, readily lent their aid to the accomplishment of this result.

The Prince of Wales having been called, in consequence of the King's mental infirmity, to the Regency, the advancement required that he should resign the Grand Mastership, a position he had occupied for twenty-one years.

On his retirement the Duke of Sussex was elected Grand Master of the "Modern" Grand Lodge. He was recognized as an ardent friend of the proposed union. Through his influence, as Preston supposes, the Duke of Atholl, who was Grand Master of the "Antients," had been led to see the need of a union of the two Societies under one set of officials.

A similar desire for union began now to prevail among the Freemasons of both sides. Especially was this to be noted among the "Antients," who had hitherto rejected all proposals for a compromise of any kind that did not include the giving up of everything on the part of the "Moderna."

A motion looking to a union was submitted in 1809 to the Grand Lodge of "Antients," but was ruled out by the presiding officer, who refused to put the question.¹

A similar resolution to unite with the "Moderna" had been proposed to and on vote defeated by the "Antient" Grand Lodge in December, 1797.

Nevertheless, the spirit of cordiality prevailed, and in 1810 a "Union Committee" was appointed by the Grand Lodge of "Antients." This Committee held its first meeting, probably to organize, on January 24, 1810, and then held a joint meeting with a similar Committee of the Grand Lodge of "Moderna," on July 21, 1810, on which occasion the Earl of Moira, Acting Grand Master of the "Modern" Grand Lodge, presided. He had invited the

¹ Hughan's "Memorials of the Masonic Union," revised edition, Leicester, 1913, p. 15.

"Atholl" brethren to dine with him at the Freemasons' Tavern, an offer which was accepted.

At a meeting of the Grand Lodge of "Moderns" on April 12, 1809, that body rescinded all former resolutions which forbade the admission of the "Antients" into their regular Lodges,¹ and thus really took the first step toward a formal recognition of them.

The "Antients" also made concessions. Their Grand Lodge at a communication held on September 5, 1810, directed all resolutions relating to the union to be published and submitted to the Craft for their consideration. They also made alterations in their regulations to conform to those of the "Moderns."²

The time had now arrived when the necessities of harmony demanded a halt of the antagonism which had so long existed between the two rival Grand Lodges and their unity under a common head, so that Speculative Freemasonry in England should thereafter remain "one and indivisible."

The "Moderns" had long been desirous of a union, which on the other hand the "Antients" had always opposed. "It is," says Bro. Hughan, "to the credit of the 'Moderns' that they were the firm supporters of the 'Union,' even when the 'Antients' refused the right hand of fellowship."³

The success of the "Antients" in winning popularity among the Craft, especially in America, where they had largely extended their influence, was a principal reason for their rooted dislike to any sort of compromise, which would necessarily result in the extinction of their power and their independent position.

But many events had recently begun to create a change in their views and greatly to weaken their opposition to a union of the two Grand Lodges.

In the first place, the charge that the "Moderns" had made innovations on the landmarks was losing the importance which had been given to it in the days of Laurence Dermott. That charge was still maintained, but no longer urged with vigor. History was beginning to circulate truth. Those "Antients" who thought at all upon the subject, must have seen that their

¹ Hughan's "Memorials of the Masonic Union," revised edition, p. 16.

² "Their regulations were also altered so as to conform as much as possible to those of the regular Grand Lodge." Hughan's "Memorials of the Masonic Union," revised edition, p. 16.

³ "Memorials of the Masonic Union," revised edition, p. 16.

independence from the older Grand Lodge had preceded the innovations of that body, and that they themselves had been guilty of similar if not greater trespasses in the Third degree and the working out of a Fourth one.

In the second place, the theory maintained by Dermott and accepted by his followers, that the Grand Lodge of England, instituted at London in the year 1717, was an illegal body, defective in numbers at its organization and without the true degrees, had been abandoned. History was again exercising its functions of establishing truth. The "Antients" must have known that if the Grand Lodge organization of 1717 was illegal, their own of 1753 must have been equally so if the latter had sprung out of the former. It was felt to be dangerous, when brethren began to investigate the records, to advance a doctrine which logically led to such a conclusion.

We are also confident that a third reason, and a very strong one, controlled the "Antients" in arriving at a change of views. This must have been the defection of the Grand Lodges of Scotland and Ireland. These two bodies had at first entered into an alliance with the "Atholl" Grand Lodge at the expense of the "Modern" Grand Lodge. Now they had changed sides, and had recognized the latter body as the only legal head of Freemasonry in England, had admitted that the "Antients" were irregular, and had refused to give them recognition as Freemasons.

There was a fourth reason of importance. This was that the Duke of Atholl, who had long been at the head of the Grand Lodge which bore his name and that of his father, and who for two generations had been identified with its existence, had been won by the arguments or at least we may safely say he was influenced by the friendship of the Duke of Sussex, the Grand Master of the "Modern" Grand Lodge. Therefore the Duke of Atholl had resolved to resign his Grand Mastership in favor of the Duke of Kent, for the avowed purpose of thus preparing for a union of the Craft.

Yielding to these various influences and perhaps to some others of less note, the Grand Lodge of "Antients" in the year 1813 gave up its opposition to a union, and accepted the preliminary measures which had been adopted by the friends of that union.

A meeting of an "Especial Grand Lodge of Free and Accepted Masons of England, According to the Old Institutions" was held on Monday, November 8, 1813, at the "Crown and Anchor Tavern," in the Strand. At this communication a letter was read from the Duke of Atholl intimating his desire of resigning the office of Grand Master in favor of his Royal Highness, the Duke of Kent.¹ At the same meeting the resignation of the Duke of Atholl was accepted and the Duke of Kent was unanimously elected to succeed him as Grand Master of the "Antients."

Edward, Duke of Kent and Strathearn, the fourth son of George the Third, was then forty-six years of age.² He was initiated into Freemasonry in a Lodge at Geneva, Switzerland. At the time of his election he was and had long been the Grand Master of the "Antient" Freemasons of Canada. He was, therefore, identified with the cause of the "Antients," but like his brothers, the Prince of Wales and the Duke of Sussex, he earnestly favored a union of the two Grand Lodges. As early as January, 1794, he had expressed this sentiment in his reply to an address from the Freemasons of Canada, when he said: "You may trust that my utmost efforts shall be exerted, that the much wished-for union of the whole Fraternity of Masons may be effected."³

The Duke of Kent was installed on December 1, 1813, as Grand Master of the "Antients." The Duke of Sussex, as Grand Master of the "Moderns" was present with several of his Grand Officers. To qualify them for visitation they were first "made Antient Masons in the Grand Master's Lodge No. 1, in a room adjoining."

Of course the transactions on that day must be considered as a conclusive settlement of the vexed question of legality. The fact that the Grand Master of the Grand Lodge of "Moderns" was present, and by his presence sanctioned the installation of

¹ The minutes of this meeting will be found in Hughan's "Memorials of the Masonic Union," revised edition, pp. 17-26.

² Edward Augustus, Duke of Kent, born 1767, died 1820, fourth son of King George III. of England, grandfather of Edward VII. who was initiated in 1868 at Stockholm by the King of Sweden and in 1875 installed as Grand Master of England. The Duke of Kent served actively in the army in the West Indies, 1794; became Lieutenant-General, 1796; Duke of Kent and Strathearn, and Earl of Dublin, 1799, and Commander-in-Chief in North America, then Governor of Gibraltar, 1802. His biography by Neale was published in 1850.

³ *Freemasons' Magazine*, vol. iii, July, 1794, p. 14.

the Grand Master of the Grand Lodge of "Antients," and that to qualify himself to do so had submitted to an initiation in the system of the "Antients," forever barred the "Moderns" from making a charge of irregularity against their rivals. The "Antients" in turn were equally prevented from denying the Masonic legality of a body whose Grand Master had been made a party to their mysteries, and had taken a share in the solemn ceremonies of installation of their presiding officer.

Indeed, a union was already brought about, and all that was now needed was its formal approval by the two Grand Lodges.

On September 1st the Duke of Kent, though not then Grand Master, had been associated by the Grand Lodge of "Antients" with Deputy Grand Master Harper and Past Deputy Grand Masters Perry and Agar as a Committee to take the first steps for effecting a union of the two Fraternities.

This Committee held several conferences with the Duke of Sussex, who was assisted by three of his Grand Officers, Bro. Wright, Provincial Grand Master of the Ionian Isles, and Past Grand Wardens Tegart and Deans.

The Joint Committee drew up Articles of Union between the two Grand Lodges which were signed and sealed in duplicate on November 25, 1813, at Kensington Palace, the residence of the Duke of Sussex.

Early in December, at the Quarterly Communications, these Articles were submitted to both Grand Lodges and solemnly ratified. The following Festival of St. John the Evangelist had been appointed for the Assembly of the Grand Lodges in joint communication to carry out the provisions agreed upon.

Each Grand Master appointed "nine worthy and expert Master Masons or Past Masters," to whom were assigned by the Articles of Union the following important duties:

Under the Warrant of their respective Grand Lodges they were to meet together in some convenient central place in London, when each party having opened in a separate apartment a Lodge according to the peculiar forms and regulations of each, they were reciprocally and mutually to give and receive the obligations of both Fraternities, deciding by lot which should take priority in the giving and receiving. And being thus all duly and equally enlightened in both forms, they were then to

hold a Lodge under dispensation, to be styled the "Lodge of Reconciliation," or they were then to visit the various Lodges and having obligated their officers and members they were then to instruct them in the forms of both the systems.¹

These and other preliminary arrangements having been performed, the two Fraternities, with their Grand Lodges, met on December 27, 1813, at Freemasons' Hall, which had been fitted up agreeably to a previously devised plan, and the whole house tiled from the outer porch.²

At each side of the room the Masters, Wardens, and Past Masters of the several Lodges were arranged on benches, and so disposed that the two Fraternities were completely intermixed.

The two Grand Lodges were opened in adjoining rooms, each according to its peculiar ceremonies, and a Grand Procession being formed, the two bodies entered side by side the Hall of Assembly, the Duke of Sussex following one line and the Duke of Kent the other.

On entering the Hall the Procession advanced to the Throne and opening inward the two Grand Masters proceeded up the center of the facing files of brethren and took seats on each side of the Throne.

The Past Grand Officers and illustrious visitors occupied the platform, and the two Senior Grand Wardens, the two Junior Grand Wardens, and the two Grand Secretaries and Grand Treasurers occupied the usual stations in the West, South, and North.

Silence being proclaimed, the services began with prayer, offered up by Rev. Dr. Barry, the Grand Chaplain of the "Antients."

After the Act of Union had been read by Sir George Nayler, Grand Director of Ceremonies, this proclamation was made by the Rev. Dr. Coghlann, Grand Chaplain of the "Moderna."

"Hear ye: This is the Act of Union, engrossed, in confirmation of Articles solemnly concluded between the two Grand Lodges of Free and Accepted Masons of England, signed, sealed, and rati-

¹ See "Articles of Union," Article V. "Memorials of the Masonic Union," revised edition, p. 28.

² This account is condensed from Oliver's edition of Preston, pp. 368-373. The "Order of Proceedings" to be observed on the occasion are given by Bro. Hughan in his "Memorials." They do not essentially differ from the details by Preston.

fied by the two Grand Lodges respectively: by which they are hereafter and forever to be known and acknowledged by the style and title of THE UNITED GRAND LODGE OF ANTIENT FREEMASONS OF ENGLAND. How say you, Brothers, Representatives of the two Fraternities? Do you accept of, ratify, and confirm the same?"

To which the whole Assembly answered: "We do accept, ratify, and confirm the same."

The Grand Chaplain then said: "And may the Great Architect of the Universe make the Union perpetual." To which all the Brethren replied: "So mote it be."

The Articles of Union were then signed by the two Grand Masters and the six Commissioners, and the seals of both Grand Lodges were affixed to the same.

Proclamation was then made by Rev. Dr. Barry in these words:

"Be it known to all men that the Act of Union between the two Grand Lodges of Free and Accepted Masons of England is solemnly signed, sealed, ratified, and confirmed, and the two Fraternities are one, to be from henceforth known and acknowledged by the style and title of 'The United Grand Lodge of Antient Freemasons of England': and may the Great Architect of the Universe make their Union perpetual." The Brethren all responded "Amen," and a symphony was played by the Grand Organist, Bro. Samuel Wesley.

The Ark of the Masonic Covenant, before the Throne, was then approached by the two Grand Masters, their Deputies and Wardens.

The Grand Masters standing in the East, the Deputies on their right and left, and the Grand Wardens in the West and South, the square, level, plumb, and mallet were in turn given to the Deputy Grand Masters and by them presented to the Grand Masters, who applied the square, level, and plumb to the Ark, and striking it three times with the mallet, they uttered this prayer:

"May the Great Architect of the Universe enable us to uphold the grand Edifice of Union, of which this Ark of the Covenant is the symbol, which shall contain within it the instrument of our brotherly love and bear upon it the Holy Bible, Square, and Compasses, as the light of our faith and the rule of our works.

May He dispose our hearts to make it perpetual." And the Brethren all responded, "So mote it be."

The two Grand Masters placed the Act of Union in the Ark. The elements of consecration, corn, wine, and oil, were then by the Grand Masters, according to the antient rite, poured upon the Ark while these words were said: "As we pour forth corn, wine, and oil on this Ark of the Masonic Covenant, may the bountiful hand of Heaven ever supply this United Kingdom with abundance of corn, wine, and oil, with all the necessaries and comforts of life; and may He dispose our hearts to be grateful for all his gifts." And the Assembly said "Amen."

This constituted the impressive ceremony by which the union of the hitherto rival Fraternities was cemented and consecrated.

The Grand Lodges of Scotland and Ireland were not represented, in consequence of the shortness of the notice. But letters of congratulation were received from each, with copies of resolutions which had been passed by both.

The two Fraternities of England, now happily partners, differed in their forms and ceremonies. It was necessary that some compromise should be effected so that a universal system might be adopted by the United Grand Lodge. The determination of what that system should be, was entrusted to the "Lodge of Reconciliation" as its most important, and doubtless its most difficult and delicate duty.

This duty was done as follows: After the ceremonies of ratification had been performed, the "Lodge of Reconciliation" retired to another private apartment, accompanied by the Count De Lagardje, Grand Master of the Grand Lodge of Sweden, Dr. Van Hess of the Grand Lodge of Hamburg, and other distinguished Freemasons. At this session the results of previous conferences were formally presented and adopted.

Returning to the Assembly-room, the Count De Lagardje announced that the forms which had been agreed on by the "Lodge of Reconciliation" were "pure and correct." They were then recognized as the only ceremonies to be thereafter observed and practiced in the United Grand Lodge and by the Lodges under its obedience.

The recognized obligation was then administered by the Rev. Dr. Hemming, standing before the Bible, Square and

Compasses lying on the Ark, and repeated by all the Brethren, who solemnly vowed, with joined hands, to abide by the same.

The next step was the organization of the new Grand Lodge by the election of its officers. For this purpose the Officers of the two Grand Lodges divested themselves of their insignia, and the chairs were taken by Past Grand Officers of the two Fraternities.

The Duke of Kent addressed the Assembly. He stated that the great object for which he had taken upon himself the office of Grand Master of the Antient Fraternity, as declared at the time, was to bring about the union. He then nominated the Duke of Sussex as Grand Master of the United Grand Lodge.

The Duke of Sussex was unanimously elected and placed upon the Throne by the Duke of Kent and Count De Lagardje. The Grand Master appointed his Grand Officers for the year ensuing. The Grand Lodge was then called to refreshment, and on returning, some necessary business having been transacted, the Grand Lodge was closed in ample form.

An accurate knowledge of the numerical strength of the two Fraternities at the time of the union is very difficult to get because the lists made by both Grand Lodges at that date contained the names of many Lodges which were dead or had gone to other jurisdictions.

The list of the "Modernes" ending at 1812, as given by Bro. Gould in his *Four Old Lodges*, the number of Lodges runs up to 640; but of these, as the list began in 1721, many must have ceased to exist. Several are recorded as being in Germany and France, where the English Grand Lodge kept up no jurisdiction, and nineteen are credited to the United States of America, where independent Grand Lodges had long been established.

We find that the list of the "Antients," in their *Ahiman Rezon*, 1813, in the same way claims 354 Lodges. Many of these, however, had passed from its jurisdiction or must have ceased to exist. Ten Lodges, for instance, are credited to the United States, and some to other foreign countries where the Grand Lodge no longer possessed any authority.

However, we may estimate the comparative strength of the two Fraternities at the union by the registry of Lodges made at that time, when the members were assigned by lot. In that list, given by Brother Hughan in his *Memorials of the Masonic*

Union, 648 Lodges are enrolled. Of these, 387 were "Moderns," and 260 "Antients." If we consider that the former had been in existence for ninety-six years and the latter about sixty,¹ it will be seen that the relative proportion of successful growth was greatly in favor of the "Antients."

The "Modern" Grand Lodge secured in England the support of a higher rank in society; from the fifth year of its existence it had been presided over by an uninterrupted succession of noblemen, and at the very period of the Union its Grand Master was a son of the King, and its acknowledged Patron was the heir-apparent of the Crown,² yet the Atholl Grand Lodge without these advantages enjoyed a much greater share of popularity among the masses of the Craft.

This favor can properly be credited to that foresight which at once avowed loyalty to the old practices and also encouraged a larger schedule of degrees. These gave the "Antients" a prestige not enjoyed by their rivals. Candidates eagerly repaired for initiation to the body, which promised them a larger amount of mystical knowledge.

The "Moderns" soon became aware of this fact. Notwithstanding their outcry against innovation, they adopted the same system or at least quietly suffered its intrusion into their own system. A Royal Arch Chapter and then a Grand Chapter was established by some "Moderns" about the year 1766, and though it was not actually approved, it was not attacked by the Grand Lodge.

Some writers have supposed that the "Antients" represented the Operative element of the Craft in opposition to the purely Speculative, which was represented by the "Moderns." Of this there is no satisfactory historical evidence. In 1723 the Operative Freemasons who in 1717 had taken a part in the organization of the Grand Lodge, had been laid upon the shelf by that body, nor is it likely that at a long interval they would renew the contest in which they had been so signally defeated.

¹ The Grand Lodge of "Moderns" began with four Lodges, the "Antients" with seven.

² Whatever influence these circumstances must have naturally exerted in a monarchy, their importance will hardly be appreciated at full value by the citizens of a republic. Anderson says that at first the Freemasons were content "to choose a Grand Master from among themselves, till they should have the honor of a Noble Brother at their head."

Among the peculiar features of the struggle between the two bodies was the affiliation of brethren with both at the same time. There is the striking case of the last Deputy Grand Master of the "Antients." Bro. Thomas Harper was initiated in Saracen Lodge, No. 24, in 1761 and was active in the "Antient" body for over fifty years. He also joined the Globe Lodge, No. 14, of the "Moderns" in 1787, was Master in 1793, and acted as Grand Steward for that Lodge, No. 14, in 1796. Expelled by the "Moderns" in 1803 because he refused to leave the "Antients" of which he was then a Grand Lodge Officer, he was active in the founding of the Union and scarcely ever missed a meeting of the United Grand Lodge or of the Lodge of Benevolence up to the day of his death, April 25, 1832.¹

Excellent results followed from the union of the two Fraternities, in the restoration of peace and concord, and the consequent strengthening of the institution. These have preserved the method in which this union was effected from adverse criticism.

The union was a compromise. In all compromises there are necessarily concessions. But it is a question whether these concessions by both parties did not involve the sacrifice of certain principles which both had hitherto deemed important.

Twenty-one "Articles of Union" constituted the groundwork on which was built the consolidation of the two Grand Lodges. Most of these relate to local regulations made necessary by the circumstances. Only three—the second, third, and fourth—have reference to the concessions made in the ritual and system of Speculative Freemasonry. These Articles are in the following words:

"II. It is declared and pronounced, that pure Antient Masonry consists of three degrees, and no more, viz.: those of the Entered Apprentice, the Fellow Craft, and the Master Mason, including the Supreme Order of the Holy Royal Arch. But this article is not intended to prevent any Lodge or Chapter from holding a meeting in any of the degrees of the Orders of Chivalry, according to the Constitutions of the said Orders.

"III. There shall be the most perfect unity of obligation, of discipline, of working the Lodges, of making, passing and raising, instructing and clothing the Brothers; so that one pure, unsullied

¹ See Bro. Sadler's "Masonic Facts and Fictions," p. 65.

system, according to the genuine landmarks, laws and traditions of the Craft shall be maintained, upheld and practiced, throughout the Masonic World, from the day and date of the said union until time shall be no more.

"IV. To prevent all controversy or dispute as to the genuine and pure obligations, forms, rules and ancient traditions of Masonry and further to unite and bind the whole Fraternity of Masons in one indissoluble bond, it is agreed that the obligations and forms that have, from time immemorial, been established, used and practiced in the Craft, shall be recognized, accepted and taken, by the members of both Fraternities, as the pure and genuine obligations and forms by which the incorporated Grand Lodge of England, and its dependent Lodges in every part of the World, shall be bound: and for the purpose of receiving and communicating due light and settling this uniformity of regulation and instruction (and particularly in matters which can neither be expressed nor described in writing), it is further agreed that brotherly application be made to the Grand Lodges of Scotland and Ireland, to authorize, delegate and appoint, any two or more of their enlightened members, to be present at the Grand Assembly on the solemn occasion of uniting the said Fraternities; and that the respective Grand Masters, Grand Officers, Masters, Past Masters, Wardens and Brothers, then and there present, shall solemnly engage to abide by the true forms and obligations (particularly in matters which can neither be described nor written), in the presence of the said Members of the Grand Lodges of Scotland and Ireland, that it may be declared, recognized and known, that they are all bound by the same solemn pledge, and work under the same law."

An examination of these three articles will clearly demonstrate that both Grand Lodges made concessions to each other, which involved the sacrifice in turn of the very points of ritualism on which each had, for nearly three-fourths of a century, maintained its right to supremacy.

In Article II the Royal Arch is recognized as an inherent portion of "Antient Craft Masonry." Yet when about 1738 Freemasons began to call themselves "Antient Masons," their Lodges were erased from the roll and their members expelled because they had practiced this same degree. Nothing then

and long after so much incensed the "Moderns" as this innovation, as they called it, of a new degree. "Our Society," said their Grand Secretary Spencer, "is neither Arch, Royal Arch, nor Antient."¹

Warrants issued by the "Moderns" only recognized the three Craft degrees, while those of the "Antients" virtually included from the first, the Royal Arch.² But it must not be forgotten that this lack of official recognition by the "Moderns" did not prevent the degree being popular among their Lodges.

At the union the "Antients" gained a victory. The attempted qualification in declaring that Antient Craft Masonry consisted of only three degrees, which seems an effort to show the consistency of the "Moderns," was without meaning, since it was immediately followed by the admission that there was a further or Fourth degree.

Article III declares that the methods of initiation and instruction should be according to the genuine landmarks, laws and traditions of the Craft. But the United Grand Lodge adopted the changes in the words of the degrees, which had been introduced by the "Modern" Grand Lodge, to prevent the intrusion of the "Antients" into their Lodges. The preservation of these words and certain other changes was certainly not in accordance with the "landmarks," supposing these landmarks to be the usages of the Craft, adopted at or soon after the organization in the year 1717. The result has been to create in these respects a difference between the Continental and the English-speaking Freemasons, the former adhering to the original forms.³

This would be a victory for the "Moderns," but not one of so much importance as that gained by the "Antients" in the official recognition of the Royal Arch degree.

Article IV asserts that the obligations and forms agreed upon at the union were those which "from time immemorial have been established, used and practiced by the Craft." This is thus

¹ Dermott, "Ahiman Rezon," 1778 edition, p. xv; also Sadler's, "Masonic Facts and Fictions," p. 109.

² Sadler, "Masonic Facts and Fictions," p. 136.

³ The Gordian knot presented by the change in the Master's Word made by the "Moderns" was cut, by the adoption or sanction of both words, and they are still so used in English Lodges. In the United States of America the word of the "Moderns" has long since passed out of the memory of the Craft, and the original word of the Speculatives alone is used.

found to be merely a "*facon de parler*" (a figure of speech) too much in vogue even at the present day, when referring to the antiquity of customs. The "time immemorial" thus boasted, dwindles down in fact to the date of the organization of the "Lodge of Reconciliation," to which the regulation of these "obligations and forms" was entrusted.

Confirmation of this new system by the Grand Lodges of Scotland and Ireland, provided for in the same Article, was not carried into effect. No representatives of these bodies were present.

The Grand Lodge of Ireland, it may be presumed, as the Irish Freemasons had long favored the high degrees, would give its cordial assent to the First Article in which even the degrees of Chivalry were recognized by sufferance.

On the other hand, the Grand Lodge of Scotland had always contended that Antient Craft Masonry, or as it was styled, "St. John's Masonry," consisted of only three degrees.¹ In 1800 it had forbidden the Scottish Craft Lodges from holding any meetings above the degree of Master Mason under penalty of the forfeiture of their charter.² Only four years after the United Grand Lodge of England had recognized the Royal Arch as a part of Antient Craft Masonry, the Grand Lodge of Scotland decided by resolution that no person holding official position in a Royal Arch Chapter should be admitted to membership in the Grand Lodge.³

We must look for a defense of these compromises by the two Grand Lodges of England to the peculiar and threatening condition in which they were placed. Without compromise and mutual concession of many things the maintenance of which both had once deemed essential, no union could have been effected. Without a union the success and permanency of one, if not of both bodies, would be constantly in peril.

Looking back, at this distant period, upon the history of the Craft from the middle of the 18th to the beginning of the 19th century, when the passions and prejudices which distracted the Fraternity have ceased to exist, we recognize the fact that the

¹ "The Constitution of the Grand Lodge of Scotland."

² Lyon, "History of the Lodge of Edinburgh," p. 293.

³ Lyon's "History," p. 295.

rivalry of the two factions was destined to be ultimately of advantage to the institution.

Oliver, speaking of this and other disputes which occurred in the 18th century, says: "I am persuaded that these schisms, by their general operation, rather accelerated than retarded the outward progress of Masonry; for at the precise time when they were most active, we find the science spreading over all the European nations and exciting the attention of all ranks and classes of mankind."¹

Antagonism, in the long run, leads to development. The protracted struggle which terminated in the recognition of the Royal Arch, not only gave to the Master's degree a completeness which it had before wanted, but by the establishment of a new ritual, which more nearly approached perfection than the old one, tended to develop a more philosophic spirit in the system of Speculative Freemasonry. Of this fact ample evidence is given in the lectures of Dr. Hemming which were adopted by the United Grand Lodge, and which are much more intellectual than any that preceded them.²

The rivalry of the two bodies gave an active expansion of that spirit of charity which is incidental to every Brotherhood. Neither could afford to be less kindly disposed to the distressed of their fold than the other. This spirit of charity, thus developed during the struggle, was vastly strengthened and made of more practical utility by the consolidation of the Fraternity.

A most important advantage derived from the long antagonism was the development of the science of symbolism. This feature of our system has given the institution a just claim to the title of Speculative Freemasonry, which it had long before assumed, and elevated it to the rank of a system of moral philosophy.

Now, for the first time since the separation, in the beginning of the 18th century, of the Speculative from the Operative element was it announced as the accepted definition of Freemasonry that

¹ "Historical Landmarks," ii, p. 313.

² It is to Hemming that we are indebted for that definition of Freemasonry as "a system of morality, veiled in allegory and illustrated by symbols." We may concede also that he made some alterations in the old lectures, changes which were better spared. Dr. Samuel Hemming, a clergyman, was Master of the "Lodge of Reconciliation" appointed at the Union in 1813 to bring about uniform ceremonies in the Lodges. He was a "Modern," Master of the Lodge of Harmony, and the first appointed Senior Grand Warden of the United Grand Lodge. He died in 1832.

it was a "system of morality, veiled in allegory and illustrated by symbols."

Hemming proclaimed this sublime definition in the Union Lectures which he framed and which have awakened the thoughts and directed the speculations of all Masonic scholars who have written since his day.

True, there are some few defects in the lectures of Dr. Hemming. But they are on the whole superior to those of Preston—superior because more philosophic and more symbolical. Preston's system was the germ, Hemming's the fruit, and the fruit is always better than the seed for food.

In our conclusion it may be fairly said that the rivalry of the two factions was productive of this good, that it stimulated each to seek for a higher plane of action and of character. The union which finally took place, no matter what was the actuating motive, was the most fortunate event that had ever occurred in the Masonic Society, since it developed a loftier plane for its action, and secured it a long and prosperous continuance of life which one or both of the antagonizing parties must have long since forfeited had there been no union effected between them.

Peace, harmony and concord firmly established, a consolidation of interests—a more enlarged practice of charity and brotherly relief, and a more elevated character of Speculative Freemasonry—these were the results of the union in 1813 in England, which was speedily imitated in all other countries where the rivalry had previously existed.

CHAPTER EIGHTY-EIGHT

THE GRAND LODGE OF FRANCE



E are of the opinion it has been conclusively shown in a preceding chapter that in the year 1732 there were but two Lodges in the city of Paris. One of these Lodges had received a Warrant from the Grand Master of the Grand Lodge of England. The other Masonic body had been formed, we may suppose, by a group leaving the others, or as we should now say the demitting of a portion of the members of the first Lodge, that had perhaps grown, numerically, too large to meet their views.

We find no authentic record that the Grand Master or the Grand Lodge of England ever granted a Deputation, or Dispensation, for the establishment of a Provincial Grand Master or a Provincial Grand Lodge in France. Indeed, it has been very plausibly urged that the granting of such a Deputation to the titular Earl of Derwentwater would have been a political impossibility. He was a convicted disloyalist to the English Government, and his execution had only been averted in 1715 by his escape from prison.¹

Kloss, in his *History of Freemasonry in France*, says that the "unfortunate international political relations which existed between England, the mother country, and France, the daughter, prevented that free intercourse and development which might have been expected."² Yet there have been French authorities claiming that to Charles Radcliffe such a Deputation was granted.

¹ James Radcliffe, Earl of Derwentwater, born 1689, died 1716, was captured after the Jacobite rebellion of 1715 following the defeat at Preston, England. Confined awhile in the Tower he was beheaded on Tower Hill and his title was in time assumed by his brother Charles who had fled to France.

² "Geschichte der Freimaurerei in Frankreich," von Georg Kloss, I, 336.

Thus, we are met, on the very threshold of our investigation of the history of the institution of a Grand Lodge in France, by contradictory statements from English and French sources.

We have no way of reconciling these contradictions. We must reject the impossible and accept only that which has the support of reliable authority and as to which there is no conflict between the writers on both sides of the English Channel.

Our adoption of this rule will not always save us from the pressure of critical difficulties. The authority of the English writers is generally of a merely negative character. With the exception of the statement of Anderson and Preston, that Viscount Montagu granted two Warrants for Lodges—one at Paris and one at Valenciennes, in the year 1732—there is, in the English records of that period, an absolute silence in reference to all Masonic affairs in France.¹

The French are more informing, but they so often mistook fable for fact, and tradition for history, that we seldom find satisfaction in accepting their statements. One of them admits that the absence of any historical remains of the first Lodge has cast a shadow over the early Freemasonry in Paris.²

The history of Speculative Freemasonry in France, until the year 1736, may be considered as traditional. It is said that there was a Provincial Grand Lodge and a Provincial Grand Master, but the evidence on this subject is altogether wanting—at least such evidence as a faithful historian would require.

From the "Historial Instruction" sent in 1783 by the Grand Lodge of France to its Lodges, we learn that Lord Derwentwater was claimed as the first Grand Master of the Order in France.³

Rebold is more free in his details than any other French writer. He says that "Lord Derwentwater, who in 1725 received from the Grand Lodge at London full power to constitute Lodges in France, was, in 1735, invested by the same Grand Lodge with the functions of Provincial Grand Master. When he quitted France to return to England, where soon after he perished on

¹ Lord Viscount Montagu was installed Grand Master on April 19, 1732, and served to June 7, 1733. "His lordship granted a Deputation for constituting a Lodge at Valenciennes in French Flanders, and another for opening a new Lodge at the Hotel de Bussy in Paris." Preston, "Illustrations of Masonry," 1812 edition, p. 232.

² Thory, "Acta Latomorum," I, p. 22.

³ Thory, "Histoire de la Fondation du Grand Orient," p. 12.

the scaffold, a victim to his attachment to the Stuarts, he transferred the full power which he possessed to his friend Lord Harnouester, whom he appointed as the representative, during his absence, of his office of Provincial Grand Master.”¹

The political aspect of England had only a few years before been the scene of a rebellion in which the family of Charles Radcliffe, the titular Earl of Derwentwater, played an important part. He himself was nothing more nor less than an escaped convict, liable at any moment when caught to undergo the sentence of death adjudged against him by the law. Consider the existence of a party of Jacobites who still secretly wished and planned for the downfall of the House of Hanover, and the restoration of the family of Stuart to the throne. With these things in mind it is really absurd to suppose that the Grand Lodge of England, which claimed at least to be loyal, could have selected such a person as its representative among the Freemasons of France.

We unhesitatingly look upon this story of the premier Grand Mastership of the titular Earl of Derwentwater as a myth. No other foundation do we see for it than the facts that he was a chief instrument in establishing, without Warrant, the first Lodge in Paris, and that by his family relations he possessed much influence among the English Freemasons in Paris, who were for the most part Jacobites or friends of the House of Stuart.

Rebold has accepted every tradition of those days of myths as historical fact. He tells us that the four Lodges then in Paris determined to establish a Provincial Grand Lodge of England, to which, as the representative of the Grand Lodge at London, the Lodges which might in future be constituted should directly address themselves. This resolution, he says, was put into execution after the departure of Lord Derwentwater, and this Grand Lodge was regularly and legally constituted in 1736 under the presidency of Lord Harnouester.²

¹ “*Histoire des Trois Grandes Loges*,” p. 44. Thory, who is less imaginative or inventive than Rebold, though he, also, too often omits or is unable to give his authorities, merely says that Derwentwater was chosen as their Grand Master by the brethren at the time of the introduction of Freemasonry into Paris. See Thory’s “*Acta Latomorum*,” p. 52. Lalande, in his article on Freemasonry in the “*Encyclopédie*,” places the affair of the Earl’s Grand Mastership in the true light, when he says that as the first Paris Lodge had been opened by Lord Derwentwater, he was regarded as the Grand Master of the French Freemasons, and so continued until his return to England, without any formal recognition on the part of the brethren.

² Rebold, “*Histoire des Trois Grandes Loges*.”

The claim advanced by the French writers, that Charles Radcliffe, commonly called Lord Derwentwater, was Provincial Grand Master from 1725 to 1736, therefore is not well founded. There is no testimony, such as is worth accepting in a historical inquiry, to support it. That he was not so appointed by the Grand Lodge of England can not be denied. The political condition of that country made such an appointment most improbable. Besides there is no reference in the records of the Grand Lodge to an act altogether too important to have been passed over in silence.

We must also admit that the condition of French Freemasonry was then such as to render it extremely difficult, indeed almost impossible, to get now any reliable account of its history.

Neither do the French historians deny this fact. Thory had the best opportunities as a historical investigator. He was more familiar than any of the writers of his day with Masonic documents. But he does not hesitate when referring to a period even a little later, to give this opinion of the mixed-up condition of French Freemasonry in the earlier part of the 18th century:

"Freemasonry was then in such a disordered condition that we have no register or official report of its Assemblies. There did not exist any bodies organized in the fashion of Grand Lodges, such as were known in England and Scotland. Each Lodge in Paris or in the kingdom was the property of an individual called the Master of the Lodge. He governed the body over which he presided according to his own will and pleasure. These Masters of Lodges were independent of each other. Each body recognized no other authority than their owner. They granted to all applicants the power to hold Lodges, and thus added new Masters to the old ones. In fact, it may be said that up to 1743 Freemasonry presented in France under the Grand Masterships of Derwentwater, Lord Harnouester, and the Duke d'Antin a spectacle of the most revolting anarchy."¹

That description comes from an impartial authority. The accuracy of it can not be doubted. These features render it utterly useless to look for anything like a constitutional or legal

¹ "Histoire de la Fondation du Grand Orient," p. 18. Clavel confirms this testimony. He says that "all the Lodges which were afterwards established in Paris and the rest of France owed their constitution to the Societies (the primitive Lodges) of which we have just spoken. Most of them assumed the powers of Grand Lodges and granted Letters of Constitution to new Lodges." — "Histoire Pittoresque de la Franc-Maçonnerie," p. 108.

authority, in the English meaning of the term, for the administration of the Masonic government during the time when Derwentwater played an important part in its affairs.

There was no Lodge in France until 1732 which had its authority to act from the Warrant of a Grand Lodge. The one formed in 1725 by Derwentwater, Harnouester, Maskelyne and Heguetty, and those which had been previously founded in other parts of France—at Dunkirk and at Mons—must have been instituted under the old rule of the Operative Freemasons, which ceased to be recognized in England in the year 1717, that a sufficient number of brethren might assemble for Masonic work, without the authority of any superintending power. Warrants were not known in England until that year. They had not yet been extended into France.

The first Warrant known in France was granted by the Grand Lodge at London to the Lodge in the Rue de Bussy at Paris, and numbered on the English list as No. 90. But for years afterwards Lodges continued to be organized, as we have just seen, in France under the old Operative system of Lodge independence.

There was no Grand or Provincial Grand Master in France during this period. But Charles Radcliffe, who had, it seems, been the introducer of Speculative Freemasonry into Paris, must have been very popular with his English companions, who, like himself, were adherents of the exiled House of Stuart. After the death of his nephew he assumed the title of Earl of Derwentwater, and as such was recognized by the French King and the Pretender. He was a leader of the Jacobite party, and it is very generally supposed that it was in their interests that he organized his Lodge at Paris.

Therefore, it is not astonishing that Radcliffe's connection with Freemasonry, as the founder of the first Parisian Lodge, has led to supposing him to have been the first Grand Master of France. In his day there was no French Grand Lodge nor Grand Master.

The astronomer Lalande wrote a thoughtful history of Freemasonry for the French *Encyclopædie*. He says that Lord Harnouester was the first regularly chosen Grand Master.

We can not believe that when Derwentwater left France for England in 1733 (not as Thory mistakenly states in 1735), he

appointed Lord Harnouester¹ as Deputy during his absence. He could not delegate a position and powers which he did not possess. But it is reasonable to suppose that on the departure of Derwentwater another nobleman of high rank, influence and popularity among the English exiled Freemasons assumed the position of a lead.

Lord Derwentwater had a temporary absence in England. Notwithstanding the sentence of death which had been adjudged against him in 1715, he was not arrested, the government exercising a merciful forbearance, and he returned to the Continent. Following his return we find no evidence of his having taken any further active interest in Masonic affairs.

We note the French writers agree in saying that in 1736 Lord Harnouester was elected Grand Master. But we have no record of the circumstances attending his election. Rebolt's statement that he was elected by the Lodges then existing in Paris, may or may not be truth. There is not sufficient historical testimony of the fact to take it out of the realm of tradition.

"Lord Harnouester was elected Grand Master, after Lord Derwentwater, in 1736," says Thory.² We have not been able to identify Harnouester with any of the public personages of the period, or to find any record of him in lists of the English peerage.

However, let us accept, from the French historians, the statement that Harnouester was the first Grand Master of Masons in France. Then we must also accept the statement, authentic or not, that his Grand Mastership was brief and unattended with any events that it has been deemed worthy to record.

Thory merely says that the Duke d'Antin succeeded Harnouester in 1738.³

Rebold indulges in more details. These particulars we must take on his sole authority. He says that "in 1737 Lord Harnoues-

¹ Sometimes spelled d'Harnouester. We must remind the reader that the suggestion has been made that d'Harnouester is a French misspelling of Derwentwater but the explanation seems doubtful. If the claim be maintained of the existence of a Dispensation (Deputation) issued by Derwentwater to form Lodges in Sweden, under date of 1737, we should find more ground for the two names to mean the same person. The subject is uncertain and difficult. Full as it is of pitfalls we are not surprised to see Gould's "Concise History," p. 321, mentions James Radcliffe as the founder of the first Lodge at Paris in 1725 although the same work on page 355 tells us James was beheaded in 1716!

² "Histoire de la Fondation du Grand Orient," p. 14.

³ Thory's "Histoire," p. 14.

ter, the second Provincial Grand Master of France, wishing to return to England, requested that his successor should be appointed and having expressed the desire that that brother should be a Frenchman, the Duke d'Antin, a zealous Freemason, was chosen to succeed him in the month of June, 1738.”¹

The account given by French writers of the character of the Duke is a very favorable one. They say that he was selected by the Freemasons for their presiding officer from among those of the nobility who had shown the most zeal for the Order.

Of his own attachment to it, he had shown a striking proof. He disobeyed the express command of the King, Louis XV., who had forbidden his courtiers to unite with the Society. Moreover, he had dared to accept the Grand Mastership, notwithstanding that the King had declared, when he was informed that the Freemasons were about to elect such an officer, that if the choice fell on a Frenchman who should consent to serve he would immediately send him, by a *lettre de cachet* (a sealed secret royal letter, ordering arrest and imprisonment without trial), to the Bastile. But the threat was not carried into execution.²

We are now about to pass out of the realm of what, borrowing a term of science, may be called the prehistoric age of French Freemasonry. Henceforth we shall have something authentic from authorities of the period on which to lean. Myths and traditions marking the story of the second decade of the 18th century will be succeeded by historical facts. We must still be guarded in accepting all the speculations which the writers of France have been so apt to blend with them as in many instances to give us a tangled web of romance and history.

At this stage of the Masonic history of France we may with interest and profit digress from our narrative of the Grand Lodge. Let us take a view of the condition of Freemasonry in that country and especially in Paris, at the period of time embracing a few years before and after the Duke d'Antin came to the Masonic throne.

As early as 1737, the institution, though acceptable among the *noblesse* and the *bourgeoisie*—the lords and the citizens—was disliked by the King, Louis XV., whom we have already seen

¹ “*Histoire des Trois Grandes Loges*,” p. 45.

² Rebold's “*Histoire*,” p. 49, note.

threatening to imprison its Grand Master if he was a Frenchman.

This fact is confirmed by a statement made in the *Gentleman's Magazine* for March, 1737. The statement is in a letter from Paris and is in the following words:

"The sudden increase of the Society of Free Masons in France had given such offense that the King forbid their meetings at any of the Lodges."

The above resulted in an apologetic letter published in Paris and a part of it was copied into the *Gentleman's Magazine* for the following month. Portions of this letter are worth copying, because of the principles which the French Freemasons, at least, professed at the time.

"The views the Free Masons propose to themselves," says this apology, "are the most pure and inoffensive and tend to promote such qualities in them as may form good citizens and zealous subjects; faithful to their prince, to their country and to their friends. . . . The duty it prescribes to those who bear it is to endeavor to erect temples for virtue and dungeons for vice. . . . Their principal design is to restore to the earth the reign of Astrea and to revive the time of Rhea."¹

Kloss and all the French writers record other instances of the persecution to which the Freemasons in Paris were subjected at this period by the municipal authorities, whose actions were undoubtedly in accord with the sentiments of the King.

For example, the police surprised a Lodge of Freemasons which was being held in the house of one Chapelot on September 10, 1737. He had for safety bricked up a door and secretly opened another to the room of meeting. Notwithstanding these precautions, the police obtained an entrance and dispersed the assembly. Chapelot was condemned to pay a fine of a thousand livres and was deprived of his license as a tavern keeper for six months.

¹ This expression is found in some of the early French rituals as a definition of the object of Freemasonry. The English Masonic poets made use of it. In a prologue spoken at Exeter, in 1771, are the following lines:

"The Lodge, the social virtues fondly love:
There Wisdom's rules we trace and so improve:
There we (in moral architecture skill'd)
Dungeons for Vice — for Virtue temples build."
See Jones' "Masonic Miscellanies," p. 164.

On April 27, 1738, Pope Clement XII.¹ issued his celebrated Bull *In eminenti*.² All the faithful of the Roman Catholic Church were forbidden to attend the meetings of the Masonic Lodges, or in any way to consort with the Freemasons under the penalty of *ipso facto* excommunication, the act of disobedience instantly denying the offender all the benefits of his Church. Forgiveness and absolution from the effects of the offense, except at the point of death, were reserved to the Supreme Pontiff.

Of course this condemnation by the Church gave an increased vigor and vigilance to the attacks of the police. St. John the Evangelist's day, 1738, the Freemasons assembled at the room of the Lodge in the Rue des Deux-Ecus to celebrate the Feast of the Order were arrested and several of them imprisoned.

Notwithstanding these efforts to suppress the Order in Paris, it grew apace. Neither was it without an acknowledged standing beyond the local field. In fact there was a recognition of its independence and regularity by the Grand Lodge at London.

This information we learn from Anderson. He says in his second edition of the *Book of Constitutions*, published by authority of the Grand Lodge of England, in 1738:

"But the old Lodge at York City and the Lodges of Scotland, Ireland, France, and Italy, affecting independence, are under their own Grand Masters, though they have the same Constitutions, Charges, Regulations, etc., in substance, with their brethren of England and are equally zealous for the Augustan style, and the secrets of the Antient and Honourable Fraternity."³

Anderson was right in his statement that the customs of the Craft in the two countries were similar. Some practices have been reported to us of the French Freemasons at that early period. An interesting account was published at the time in a journal of London. The volume containing it is not generally accessible except in large public libraries. We therefore copy it in full. The reader will be pleased to compare the ceremonies of admission to the Society, as reported in the year 1737, from

¹ Lorenzo Corsini, born 1652, elected Pope 1730, died 1740.

² "Bull" refers to the seal, "bulla," but has come to be applied as the name of the documents issued by the Pope officially. The title of each of these orders or edicts is commonly the Latin words with which it begins as in the above instance.

³ Anderson's "Constitutions," second edition, 1738, p. 196.

Paris, with those of the London Freemasons at about the same period, which appear in a preceding part of this work.

In the *Gentleman's Magazine*, published at London, March, 1737, is this letter under date of "Paris, January 13":

"THE SECRET OF THE ORDER OF FREE MASONS AND THE CEREMONIES OBSERVED AT THE RECEPTION OF MEMBERS INTO IT."

"First of all, persons must be proposed in one of the Lodges by a Brother of the Society as a good Subject; and when the latter obtains his request, the Recipientary is conducted by the Proposer, who becomes his Godfather, into one of the Chambers of the Lodge where there is no light, and there they ask him whether he has a calling to be received: He answers, Yes. After which they ask him his Name, Surname, and Quality, take from him all Metals or Jewels which he may have about him, as Buckles, Buttons, Rings, Boxes, etc., his Right Knee is uncovered, he wears his left shoe as a slipper, then they blindfold him and keep him in that condition about an hour delivered up to his reflections; after this the Godfather goes and knocks three times at the Door of the Reception room, in which the venerable Grand Master of the Lodge¹ is, who answers by three knocks from within and orders the door to be opened; then the Godfather says that a Gentleman by name . . . presents himself in order to be received. (Note, That both on the outside and within this chamber several Brothers stand with their swords drawn in order to keep off profane people.) The Grand Master who has about his neck a blue ribband cut in a triangle says, Ask him whether he has the calling? The Godfather puts him the question and the Recipientary, having answered in the affirmative, the Grand Master orders him to be brought in: Then they introduce him and make him take three turns in the room round a sort of ring on the floor in which they draw with a pencil upon two Columns a sort of representation of the ruins of Solomon's Temple, on each side of that space, they also make with the pencil a great

¹ Kloss, in his "Geschichte," infers from a document of the period which he quotes that at this time the title of Grand Master was equivalent in France to that of Worshipful Master of a Lodge. The use of the title in this account of the ceremonies leaves no doubt of the truth of that fact. To this confusing use of the two titles we may credit much of the uncertainty that exists in reference to the leadership in French Freemasonry at this early period of its history.

I and a great B, which they don't explain till after the Reception. In the middle there are three lighted wax candles laid in a Triangle upon which they throw gunpowder and rosin at the Novice's arrival, in order to frighten him by the effect of these matters. The three turns being made, the Recipientary is brought into the middle of the writing above mentioned in three pauses over against the Grand Master, who is at the upper end behind an arm-chair on which is the Book of St. John's Gospel and asks him: Do you feel a Calling? Upon his answering, Yes, the Grand Master says: Shew him the Light, he has been long enough deprived of it. In that instant they take off the cloth from before his eyes and all the Brothers standing in a circle, draw their swords; they cause the Recipientary to advance on three pauses up to a stool which is at the foot of the arm-chair; The Brother Orator addresses him in these terms: You are going to embrace a respectable Order which is more serious than you imagine; there is nothing in it against the Law, against Religion, against the State, against the King, nor against Manners: The venerable Grand Master will tell you the rest. At the same time they make him kneel on the stool with his Right Knee which is bare and hold his Left Foot in the air: Then the Grand Master says to him, 'You promise never to trace, write, or reveal the secrets of Free Masons or Free Masonry but to a Brother in the Lodge or in the Grand Master's presence.' Then they uncover his Breast to see if he is not a Woman and put a pair of Compasses on his left pap, which he holds himself; he puts his Right Hand on the Gospel and pronounces his Oath in these terms: 'I consent that my Tongue may be pulled out, my Heart torn to pieces, my Body burnt, and my Ashes scattered, that there may be no more mention made of me amongst mankind if, etc.,' after which he kisses the Book. Then the Grand Master makes him stand by him; they give the Free Mason's Apron which is a white skin, a pair of men's gloves for himself and a pair of women's gloves for the person of that sex, for whom he has the most esteem. They also explain to him the I and B traced on the floor which are the type of the Sign by which Brothers know one another. The I signifies Jahkin and the B, Boiaes. In the Signs which the Free Masons make amongst one another they represent these two words by putting the Right Hand to the Left side of the

Chin, from whence they draw it back upon the same line to the Right Side; then they strike the skirt of their coat on the Right Side and also stretch out their hands to each other, laying the Right Thumb upon the great joint of his comrade's first finger which is accompanied with the word Jahkin, they strike their breasts with the Right Hand and take each other by the hand again by reciprocally touching with the Right Thumb the first and great joint of the middle finger which is accompanied with the word Boiaes. This ceremony being performed and explained the Recipientary is called Brother, after which they sit down and, with the Grand Master's leave, drink the new Brother's health. Everybody has his bottle. When they have a mind to drink they say, Give some powder, viz: Fill your glass. The Grand Master says, Lay your hands to your firelocks; then they drink the Brother's health and the glass is carried in three different motions to the mouth; before they set it down on the table they lay it to their Left pap, then to the Right and then forwards and in three other pauses they lay the glass perpendicular upon the table, clap their hands three times and cry three times Vivat. They observe to have three wax candles disposed in a triangle on the table. If they perceive or suspect that some suspicious person has introduced himself amongst them, they declare it by saying it rains, which signifies that they must say nothing. As some people might have discovered the Signs which denote the terms Jahkin and Boiaes, a Free Mason may be known by taking him by the hand as above mentioned and pronouncing I, to which the other answers A, the first says H, the second replies K, the first ends with I, and the other with N, which makes Jahkin: It is the same in regard to Boiaes."

The Duke d'Antin was not a success, officially and fully, so far as respects the institution and the carrying out of reforms. The prevailing anarchy and independence of the Lodges did not altogether cease. The claim of a personal possession and a constant tenure of office made by many Masters, especially tavernkeepers, who had organized Lodges at their places of public entertainment, was not everywhere abandoned. Warrants of Constitution were frequently issued by private Lodges. Such official documents should have come from the Grand Lodge, had there really been such a body in existence, of which fact

there is much doubt. Thory admits that there was in 1742, the year before d'Antin's death, no Grand Lodge organized like that of England. An English writer having stated that in that year there were twenty-two Lodges in Paris and more than two hundred in all France, Thory confesses his inability to verify the statement because French Freemasonry was at that time in such a disordered condition that there were no registers or official reports of Lodge meetings.¹

The persecutions of the Church, of the Court, and the police did not abate. If the Masonic reign of the Duke d'Antin was eventful in nothing else, it certainly was in the continued contests of the enemies and the friends of the Craft, the one seeking to crush and the other to sustain. That the latter were often placed in danger, and sometimes endured a sort of martyrdom when their meetings were invaded, is well known. For their zeal under all these difficulties in preserving the institution, however feeble, and in delivering it to their successors with the greater strength, the Freemasons owe them a debt of gratitude.

As we may suppose, the ritual of the Order in France was derived from that of the English system, though changes and innovations were already beginning to appear. The account we have given shows a ceremony of the Table Lodge. That practice and the peculiar language accompanying it were the pure invention of French ingenuity, wholly unknown then and since to English-speaking Freemasons.

The Duke d'Antin died in 1743 on December 9, and he was succeeded as Grand Master by Prince Louis of Bourbon, the Count of Clermont. There were other candidates, and the Prince of Conti and Marshal Saxe received some votes during the election.² This shows that French Freemasonry, whatever were its faults of irregularity, had not fallen in the social scale.

The Count of Clermont was higher in rank than the Duke d'Antin. He belonged to the royal family of Orleans and was the uncle of the Duke of Chartres, afterwards Duke of Orleans (who succeeded him in the Grand Mastership), and was the father of Louis Philippe, in due course the popular King of France.

¹ "Fondation du Grand Orient," p. 13.

² This Prince, born 1717, died in exile 1776, the son of the elected King of Poland, was the last of his line. Maurice, Comte de Saxe, born 1696, died 1750, a brilliant general and an author, was a soldier at twelve years of age.

But the French Freemasons were disappointed in the advantageous results which they anticipated would follow the choice of one so illustrious in rank as their leader. This will be seen more clearly hereafter.

His election, accepting the reports at hand from French sources, was accomplished by forms that made it regular and legal, the Masters of the Lodges having for that purpose united in a General Assembly on December 11, 1743.

Thory¹ says that from this period we are to regard the existence of the Grand Lodge of France as legal and authentic, because it was founded at Paris with the consent of the Masters of the Lodges in the Provinces.

This authority also reports that the body assumed the title of the "English Grand Lodge of France." Whether it did so at the time of its organization or at a later period is uncertain, but it bore that title in 1754. Thory says that he saw a print engraved in that year by Jean de la Cruz on which were the words—"Grande Loge Anglaise de France."

The assertion of some writers is undoubtedly a fiction that the use of the title was authorized by the Grand Lodge at London with whom the Freemasons of Paris had about that time been successfully negotiating for recognition and patronage. There is not a particle of evidence in the records of the Grand Lodge of England at that period that any such negotiations had taken place.

However, we have seen that Anderson, in 1738, acknowledged that the independent authority of the Grand Master of the French Freemasons was recognized in England, and that the brethren in Scotland, Ireland, and France were placed upon the same footing.

Soon after his election as Grand Master the Count of Clermont ceased to pay much attention to the handling of the affairs of the Fraternity, whose interests were thus seriously affected by his neglect.

One of the greatest difficulties with which the Grand Lodge had to contend in its efforts to secure harmony and to preserve discipline arose from the practice which it pursued of granting Charters to Lodges, the Masters of which held their offices for

¹ "Histoire de la Fondation du Grand Orient," p. 14.

life. They were called "*Maitres Inamovibles*"¹—irremovable or perpetual Masters. A great many of these were already in existence, having been created under the irregular system of the preceding times, and the new Grand Lodge unfortunately increased the number.

The "unremovable Masters" organized local bodies of control under the title of "Provincial Grand Lodges," governed by the presiding officers of the Lodges which had created them.

Thory speaks of these early days of the English Grand Lodge of France as the period of illegal constitutions, of false titles, of antedated charters delivered by pretended Masters of Lodges or fabricated by the Lodges themselves, some of them claiming an origin which by a stretch of imagination went back to the year 1500.²

There was another evil to which French Freemasonry was subjected at the beginning of its legal and constitutional career. This was the flood of advanced degrees and the founding of Chapters and Councils which became the rivals of the Grand Lodge.

Writers commonly credit to the Chevalier Ramsay that the Order is indebted for the gift of these further degrees which began to overshadow primitive, symbolic Freemasonry, and for the invention of new theories as to the origin of the institution. Wholly rejecting the Operative element, on which the true symbolism of Freemasonry so much depends, these arguments sought to trace its existence as a Speculative Organization to the era of the Crusades, to the work of the Christian Knights.

Like that of England, the Grand Lodge of France recognized and practiced only the three symbolic degrees. Charters to the Lodges which it instituted authorized them to confer only these three degrees. It claimed that the complete cycle of Speculative Freemasonry was embraced within these prescribed limits. The Grand Lodge would not admit that there was or could be any mystical knowledge above and beyond that taught in the initiation of a Master Mason. It refused to concede that there existed any higher authority than itself from which the power to impart this knowledge could be derived.

¹ A Masonic term of the time, applied to those holding positions permanently at their own pleasure, the expression being in fact borrowed from one used in the law to mean an official created by royalty and subject only to the King.

² "Acta Latomorum," Tome i, p. 56.

The so-called Ramsay's Rite of six or seven degrees rapidly developed into other Rites professing a still greater number. At Paris and in the Provinces, other bodies began to be established by the excess zeal of some of the Lodges, which with the lofty titles of Colleges, Chapters, Councils and Tribunals, assumed an authority equal to that of the Grand Lodge in respect to the primitive degrees and one superior to it in respect to the new systems. These self-constituted and perhaps crudely constituted bodies probably looked with contempt on the plain initiations and the scanty instructions of the simple system of the Lodges, and claimed a more elevated, more philosophic, more splendid system of their own. We are not surprised that hundreds should have been attracted by their elaborate theories, their lofty ambitions and the glamour of the splendor they created by their high titles, their glittering jewels, and their brilliant decorations, so that pure and simple Freemasonry was beginning to lose its appeal in France and the Grand Lodge its prestige.

As Thory has said, the result of all these disorders was such a complication, that at that epoch and for a long time afterwards a stranger and even a Frenchman could not positively determine which was the true constitutional authority of Freemasonry in the kingdom, in what body it was vested or by whom it was justly exercised.

Distressed by these conflicts for authority, these endless claims of jurisdiction, which were weakening its position, the Grand Lodge resolved to take a higher stand, which it was supposed, or hoped, would secure for it a stronger hold upon the obedience of the Fraternity.

We have shown that this body had adopted in 1743 the title of "The English Grand Lodge of France." This title was assumed without the authority of the Grand Lodge at London, neither was any official connection between the two organizations. There is not the slightest evidence of any historical value to that effect, but rather an indication, as we may well suppose, that the Freemasonry of France had originally come from England.

But there must have been an idea that the English Grand Lodge of France was in some way dependent on the London body. Of course this impaired its claim to absolute sovereignty.

Accordingly, the French Grand Lodge asserted its thorough independence in 1756 by omitting the word "English" from its title and assuming the name of "The National Grand Lodge of France."

Thory and other French writers have said that "it shook off the yoke of the Grand Lodge at London," a phrase that is misapplied. No such "yoke" had ever existed.

However, the effect of this apparent declaration of independence was not such as was probably expected. Chapters of High Degrees persisted in their rivalry of jurisdiction. Irregular charters were still issued by the perpetual or irremovable Masters of many of the Lodges. French Freemasonry was yet in a sort of chaotic condition.

To add to these annoyances and to still further embarrass the efforts for the establishment of a constitutional authority, the Count of Clermont withdrew from all part in the administration of affairs as Grand Master. He confided the discharge of his functions to a Substitute or Deputy, in the selection of whom he was by no means judicious.

The first appointment of a Substitute was of one Baure, a banker, in 1744. This selection was a most unfortunate one for the Craft. Instead of devoting himself to the affairs of the Order Baure neglected to assemble the Grand Lodge. This inactivity was very disastrous, inasmuch as it encouraged the continuance of old irregularities and the introduction of many new ones.

A writer of that period mentions that certain tavernkeepers had on former occasions prepared their houses for the meetings of Lodges to which they had been admitted only as Serving Brothers.¹ Wishing to revive the banquets from which they had derived so much profit, they now assumed the functions of Masters and conferred the degrees on candidates regardless of their proper qualifications. Warrants became, like the initiations, objects of traffic. Lodges whose constitutions were purchased, opened their doors to the depraved, and celebrated their indecent revels in disreputable eating houses.²

¹ "Frères Servants," Freemasons who serve the Lodge as Tilers, wait at the table, and so forth, have long been known on the Continent as a distinct class of the brethren. As far back as 1753 the Grand Lodge of England adopted a special initiation for them.

² La Chaussée, in a "Memoire Justicatif," quoted by Thory in his "Fondation du Grand Orient," p. 20.

Freemasonry under Baure fell into a deplorable condition. At last, but by no means too soon, he was dismissed by the Grand Master. The next selection was one Lacorne, a dancing-master, appointed in 1761. His social position was inferior to that of his predecessor, and his character not as good.

The old and respectable members of the Fraternity protested in vain against the appointment of Lacorne. He had by some service to the Grand Master secured his favor. In reward he received the title of "Particular Substitute," with power to execute all the official functions of his superior.

The fault of Baure had been an aimless neglect, but that of Lacorne was a wrongly-directed activity. The Craft had exchanged King Log for King Stork. The history of the Grand Lodge for succeeding years is a history of agitations and disputes abetted by Lacorne to suit his own private ends.

Lacorne hastened to hold a meeting of the Grand Lodge, which was followed by several others. In the course of these communications he succeeded in effecting a reorganization of the body, which had almost ceased to exist under the indifference of his predecessor.

He admitted a great many Freemasons of all conditions and professions, and consulted his own caprice in the selection of officers.¹ The first signs of a coming break in the institution began now to make their appearance.

The old members of the Fraternity, who had refused to recognize the new Substitute, refrained from any part in these official acts, more especially as, in the appointment of his officers, he had selected brethren not generally acceptable.

We see the Grand Lodge soon divided into two factions, the one the adherents, the other the opponents, of Lacorne. Both claimed to represent the constitutional authority. Each assumed the titles and the functions of a Grand Lodge, so that two pretended Grand Lodges were in active existence at the same time.

Lively disputes lasted for several years. Finally some zealous brethren who realized the threatened destruction of the Order, or at least its reduction to a state of anarchy, offered their services to effect a settlement. The offer was accepted. Accordingly, representations of the true and damaging facts in the case were

¹ Thory, "Fondation du Grand Orient," p. 21.

made to the Count of Clermont. He was prevailed upon to divest Lacorne of the powers which he had so much abused, and to appoint as his successor M. Chaillou de Jonville.

Peace and harmony seemed about to be restored. The two contending parties came together. All the Masters in Paris gladly hastened to assist in the reconciliation. The Grand Lodge was reunited and a circular was issued on June 24, 1762, which announced the promising event to the Freemasons of France.¹

The promise of peace soon proved to be a fallacy. The two rival Grand Lodges, which had existed under the administration of Lacorne, were apparently dissolved and a United Grand Lodge was organized. But the elements which composed it were so varied and misfit in character that perhaps it is not surprising that new and still more bitter factions arose in a short time to disturb its harmony and to seriously affect its usefulness.

Indeed a very natural cause led to the birth of these new factions. The two parties who had united in the reëstablishment of the Grand Lodge were far from congenial. We learn that this lack of unity arose from the great difference in the character, habits of life, and social condition of the individuals.

History tells us that the old Masters and Past Masters who had contributed to the support of the institution in the earlier years of the Grand Mastership of the Count de Clermont were members of the nobility, the professional men of the law, and the better educated class of citizens. They mingled with reluctance with the newcomers and the partisans of Lacorne. These for the most part were workmen without education or men of inferior reputations, wholly incapable, from their want of culture and refinement, to conduct the labors of the Grand Lodge.²

Certainly the old Masters would willingly have expelled them. In so doing they would undoubtedly have improved the moral and intellectual tone of the Grand Lodge. But the objectionable members had legal and Masonic rights, which made them in one sense the equals of their opponents. Therefore it was wisely considered by the latter that any violent coercive measures would expose the Order to the danger of new and perhaps fatal convulsions. Accordingly, the older brethren waited watchfully.

¹ Thory's "Fondation," p. 21.

² Thory, "Fondation du Grand Orient," p. 22.

An opportunity for action soon arrived. The regulations of the Grand Lodge required an election of officers every three years. The result was that very few of the new members and the partisans of Lacorne were elected to any of the offices. These, feeling assured that this act had been improperly prearranged, declared the election to be illegal and protested against it.

Not content with raising objections in the usual way, they caused bitter attacks to be printed, and scattered them freely among the Fraternity. In these publications the Grand Lodge and its officers were abused.

The older brethren who formed the most numerous as well as the most respectable part of the Grand Lodge, could do no less than under these circumstances vindicate its authority by expelling the malcontents from it and from all their Masonic privileges.

The outcast members fought the decree of expulsion with renewed libels, insults and personalities, to which the other side responded in similar style. The war of words became so vigorous and offensive even to public decency that the government thought it necessary to interfere and to issue, in 1767, an order prohibiting any further assemblies of the Grand Lodge.

Probably it was previous to this suspension of its meetings by the government and when the Grand Lodge had hoped that its union of the discordant elements would effect a permanent and a happy reconciliation, that an announcement of its existence was formally sent to the Grand Lodge of England and thereby it doubtless sought to establish a fraternal interchange of courtesies between the two bodies.

Noorthouck tells us on January 27, 1768, the Grand Master of the Grand Lodge of England informed the brethren that he had received from the Grand Lodge of France letters expressing a desire of opening a regular correspondence with the Grand Lodge of England. These letters having been read, it was resolved "that a mutual correspondence be kept up, and that a *Book of Constitutions*, a list of Lodges, and a form of Deputation, bound in an elegant manner, be presented to the Grand Lodge of France."¹

This, it must be remarked, is the first official recognition, by the Grand Lodge of England, of the existence and legality of

¹ Noorthouck, "Book of Constitutions," p. 291.

such a body in France. But the ready willingness of the English Freemasons to cement a union with their brethren of the neighboring Grand Lodge appears to have led to no active results.

When this friendly act of the English Grand Lodge was recorded, the Grand Lodge of France had suspended its labors. The body was temporarily dissolved and its members dispersed.

The official lack of Masonic government upset the stability of the Order's laws. The expelled members availed themselves of this favorable opportunity to renew their efforts to obtain a control of the Order. They held clandestine meetings in the Faubourg St. Antoine. Notwithstanding the vigilance of the magistrates, they resumed the ordinary labors of Freemasonry and even went so far as to grant several Charters to new Lodges.

To give some sort of legal appearance to their acts they invented excuses that failed as explanations. They sent circulars to the Lodges in the country in which they stated that the Grand Lodge having in obedience to superior authority ceased its labors, had delegated to three Brethren, Peny, Duret, and L'Eveille, the exercise of all its rights and powers, during the continuance of the persecution.

Bold as was the attempt they did not succeed in this effort at deception. The Provincial Lodges on examining the lists of expelled Freemasons which had long before been sent to them by the Grand Lodge, saw that among them were the names of those persons who had signed the circular as well as of those who were said to have been appointed as commissioners to exercise the functions of the Grand Lodge during its enforced idleness. The officers of the country Lodges therefore wrote to the Substitute of the Grand Master, M. Chaillou de Jonville, for an explanation, which was readily given. He denounced the circular letter as a false document and declared its signers to be rebels. On learning of the true state of affairs, the Provincial Lodges declined the correspondence which had been offered to them and refused to take a part in the conspiracy against the Grand Lodge.

This illegal faction was led by Lacorne who had been deposed from his office as Substitute of the Grand Master. The legal party among the brethren, for the Grand Lodge was thus divided, was headed by Chaillou de Jonville, the successor of Lacorne in the office of Substitute General.

But this Jonville body also held secret meetings and issued Charters. However, to avoid the appearance of violating the suspensory decree of the Magistrates, these Charters were all dated before the issuing of that edict.

The first object of the Lacorne faction was to abolish whatever remained of the Grand Lodge and to replace it by a new power from which all the old law-abiding members should be removed and all authority would be vested in the hands of the conspirators. As a preliminary step, they sought, but without success, to persuade the Lieutenant of Police to revoke the edict of suspension.

There came at length the death of the Grand Master, the Count of Clermont. This event occurred in 1771 and prompted a renewal of their hopes of seizing the supreme power. France presented, at this time, the spectacle of two Grand Lodges, or rather of two discordant and rival factions. Each pretended to represent a Grand Lodge and each was claimed to exercise the functions of a supreme authority.

One of these was the National Grand Lodge which had existed under the Count of Clermont. Although interdicted by the government in 1767, it still continued. While it held no meetings openly, this body exercised its prerogatives through the acknowledged officers.

The other body was a fragment consisting of the adherents of Lacorne. All of these had been expelled by the legal Grand Lodge. But in violation both of the law of Freemasonry and the Municipal decree of interdiction, they persisted in holding clandestine meetings, granting Constitutions to new Lodges, and, in short, exercising without the least semblance of legal authority all the functions of a Grand Lodge.

Unfortunate as was the situation, a serious oversight made it worse. It is very clear that on the death of the Count of Clermont, the National Grand Lodge as the only body in which the supreme authority of Freemasonry was at the time lawfully vested in France had but one course to adopt. The Grand Lodge should have assembled in open session, and duly selected a successor.

Unluckily for its own interests and for those of the institution over which it held so loose a control, it did no such thing. Dis-

couraged by the useless efforts it had made to obtain from the government a recall of the decree of suspension, it supposed that the time did not favor an attempt to awaken its Masonic energies. Hesitancy and timidity were in due course the causes of its destruction.

On the contrary, the Lacorne party, consisting as has been said of expelled Freemasons, who had previously formed the unworthy part of the Grand Lodge, were more politic and more bold.

Proclaiming themselves as of the old Grand Lodge, the labors of which had been suspended in 1767, they approached the Duke of Luxembourg, with the design of securing his influence in getting the Duke of Chartres to accept the Grand Mastership as the successor of the Count of Clermont.

Their application was successful. The Duke of Chartres consented to accept the position.

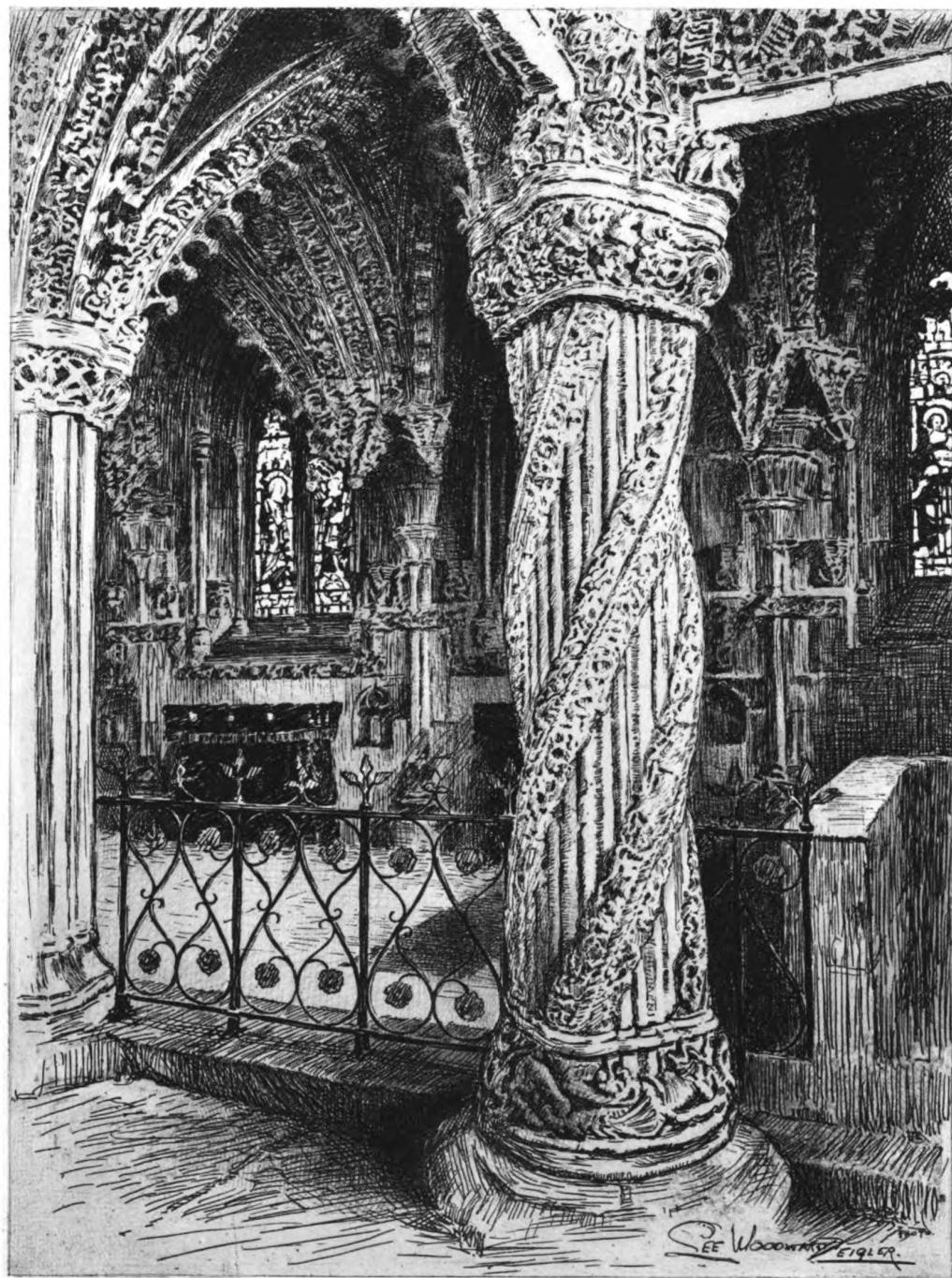
The expelled faction, elated with the success of their plan, convoked a general assembly of all the Masters in Paris, including even the members of the Grand Lodge that formerly expelled them.

The acceptance of the Grand Mastership by one who was closely related to the King, but whose unfit character had not yet been developed, produced much enthusiasm among the Craft. The old Grand Lodge brethren were willing to be indulgent. The expelled members were restored to all their Masonic rights. On June 24, 1771, the nomination of the Duke of Chartres as Grand Master was confirmed and announced to all the Lodges of Paris and the Provinces.

Nevertheless the submission of the Grand Lodge to what it supposed to be the inevitable force of events, did not have the effect it had hoped of securing harmony in the Craft. The former expelled members, though now restored, did not appear to have forgotten or forgiven the wrongs which they thought had been inflicted on them. The old supporters of the lawful Grand Lodge were still enemies in their view. They resolved to maintain a party rivalry, with the ulterior purpose of abolishing the old Grand Lodge and establishing a new body on its ruin.

A new element of discord was now introduced, the tendency of which was favorable to the execution of these plans. This was something not new in French Freemasonry, but which had not

APPRENTICE'S PILLAR
Roslyn Chapel, near Edinburgh, Scotland



before been introduced into the internal government of the Order. This element was found in the cultivation of the *Hautes Grades*, or High Degrees.

A common belief suggests that we attribute this innovation, wholly unknown to the ancient Operative or to the modern Speculative systems, to the inventive genius of the followers of Chevalier Ramsay. Influenced by a mystical and dramatic conception they devised these supplements to Craft Freemasonry, and endeavored to develop the instructions of the Third degree by the establishment of higher initiations, to which the initiation of the Master Mason was to be deemed subordinate. The so-called Ramsay system of seven degrees was, however, simple in comparison with those later introduced into France by his followers and disciples and which have so often been credited to him and his associates.

France was soon flooded by these "High Degrees." They were curiously combined in various series forming what were called "Rites," and thrusting themselves into competition and rivalry with the legal authorities who professed to know nothing about them.

The Grand Lodge of France, like its sister of England, had always remained true to the simplicity of the Speculative system. Founded as it was on the traditions of the older Operative Craft, this had recognized only three classes of workmen. More than once it had authoritatively declared that Ancient Craft or Speculative Freemasonry consisted only of three degrees. This was a fundamental point of organic law, and the Grand Lodge had never as a body violated it.

Not so, however, was it with its leaders, many of whom had been attracted by the glitter of imposing titles and brilliant decorations. Chaillou de Jonville, who was then the Substitute Grand Master under the Count of Clermont, had as far back as 1761 proclaimed himself the "Chief of the High Degrees and a Sublime Prince of the Royal Secret." As such he had issued a commission authorizing Stephen Morin to spread these High Degrees in America. That fact is enough to show how far the influence of this advanced Freemasonry had already extended when it was able to secure as its chief the actual head of the legitimate Grand Lodge.

But we also find that, from an early date, there existed at Paris and in other places in France, Colleges, Councils, and Chapters which were engaged in the cultivation and in the conferring of these High Degrees, but which were always without the official recognition of the Grand Lodge.

Nevertheless, this recognition they greatly desired. When the insurgents began to conspire for the abolition of the Grand Lodge and the establishment of a new body, the friends of the further grades of Freemasonry readily lent their assistance. They anticipated, as was really the case, that these High Degrees would receive some sort of recognition from it.

This hope received substantial encouragement. For on June 24, 1771, when the Duke of Chartres was elected and proclaimed as "Grand Master of the Grand Lodge," he was also proclaimed by the additional title of "Sovereign Grand Master of all Scottish Councils, Chapters, and Lodges of France."¹

Thus, for the first time the symbolic Freemasonry of the primitive Speculative Lodges and the Scottish System of the High Grades were reunited under one Grand Master by those who had formerly opposed the fusion of the two systems, and now accepted it without opposition but not without regret. The Duke of Luxembourg presided over the meeting in which the Grand Master was proclaimed. His presence was an influence which closed the mouths of the discontented, who might under more auspicious circumstances have been less reserved, and less willing.

We can not doubt that the object of the dissidents or schismatics (which are the titles bestowed by Thory on the Lacorne or less reputable faction of the Grand Lodge) was to entirely change the features of the system of Freemasonry which had existed in France since the establishment of the first Lodge and to substitute for it another less primitive and more complicated one. This they could only expect to do by the pulling down of the old Grand Lodge and the organization of some other Masonic authority on what might be left of its ruins.

Thory says that at this meeting when the Duke of Chartres was elected, there was the first appearance of the symptoms which threatened the destruction of the Grand Lodge. The Assembly was controlled by the dissenting brethren. The old

¹ See Thory, "Histoire de la Fondation du Grand Orient," p. 27.

dispute as to amendments of the Statutes was revived, the necessity of correcting existing abuses was insisted upon with vigor and heat, and the old and conservative members saw the aims of their rivals when it was too late to successfully oppose them. Eight commissioners were appointed to report to the Grand Master some method for effecting the proposed reforms.

The history of the proceedings of these eight commissioners, in carrying out the reforms contemplated by the insurgents, has been given by a writer living at the time.¹ This account proves that they took powers which the Grand Lodge had never intended to entrust to them, and that they exercised these privileges with an energy that crushed all opposition by its own brutal force.

They were encouraged by the protection of the Duke of Luxembourg, who had been appointed by the Duke of Chartres as his Substitute Grand Master. The officials of the Commission held meetings at the Hotel de Chaulnes, where they exercised the functions of a General Assembly or Grand Lodge. They were joined by several Masters of the Paris Lodges and Deputies from some of the Lodges in the Provinces, their professed design being to abolish the old Grand Lodge. Some of the changes which were calculated to produce that effect were opposed by a few of the Masters and delegates. But their opposition was overruled and they were compelled to withdraw from the future meetings of the commissioners.

After much noisy discussion a plan was presented of a new Constitution. This was adopted by the eight commissioners, without having submitted it to the Grand Lodge for its approval or even for its consideration.

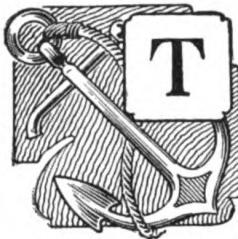
December 24, 1772, the old Grand Lodge of France was declared to have ceased to exist. For this old body was substituted a National Grand Lodge, which was to constitute a co-working part of a new power which should administer the affairs of the Order under the title of the GRAND ORIENT OF FRANCE.

The progress of this body, its disputes with the old Grand Lodge, whose members would not consent that it should be thus abolished offhand, and its final triumph and recognition as the head of Freemasonry in France, must be the subject of another chapter.

¹ Le Frère de la Chaussée, a man of letters, who took an active part in the Masonic discussions of the day, was a member of the old Grand Lodge and wrote a "Memoire Justificatif," whence Thory derived many of the facts on which he has based his "History of the Grand Orient."

CHAPTER EIGHTY-NINE

ORIGIN AND PROGRESS OF THE GRAND ORIENT OF FRANCE



HE truth of history compels us to acknowledge the fact that the Grand Orient, now and for these many years past the supreme Masonic authority in France, was, in its inception, an insurgent body. Those principles of law, then recognized, as they still are, as directing the organization of Grand Lodges, appear to have been violated in almost every point by dissenters or schismatics who broke off from the old Grand Lodge and conspired to establish its rival.

The Grand Lodge was still in existence. True it was not energetic in action, but it was not asleep; its consent had neither been asked nor obtained for this radical change in its Constitution. The Lodges had not been invited to meet in general assembly nor to give their sanction to the breaking up of the old body and to the creation of the new one.

Everything had been done by the irresponsible and unwarranted authority of the eight commissioners, who were merely a committee appointed to make a report on the condition of the Order and to suggest reforms to the Grand Lodge. But they exceeded their powers, made no report, and proceeded in secret sessions, to which none but their friends and co-workers were admitted, to start a new system. The adoption of this plan was to result in the abolition of the body which had appointed them and the creation of a new one, a radical measure of which not the remotest idea was entertained by the authority from which they derived their powers.

We must admit that if ever a violation of law could be defended by the necessity of a reform of abuses, and requiring remedies which could not be applied in a more legal manner, such defense or excuse might surely be found in the corrupt con-

dition to which Freemasonry had been reduced by the misuse of authority through the neglect of the Grand Lodge, the indifference of the Grand Masters, and the unlawful acts of their Substitutes or Deputy Grand Masters.

Under the Constitution of the old Grand Lodge it may be shown that there were many abuses and corruptions of the pure and primitive principles on which Speculative Freemasonry had been founded at the beginning of that century. A reform of these abuses was undoubtedly necessary, if the existence of the Order was to be preserved. There ought not to have been any objection to the reform, and even at this late date we feel that only the method in which the change was effected is to be condemned.

If we compare the old Constitution of the Grand Lodge with that of the Grand Orient we are confronted at once with the abuses of the one and the reforms proposed by the other.

The Grand Lodge of France was composed only of the Masters of the Lodges of Paris. Hence the Freemasons and the Lodges of the Provinces had no voice in the government of the Order, though they were required to contribute to the revenues of the Grand Lodge and pay full obedience to its decrees. The situation thus brought about meant simply the old tyrannic principle of taxation without representation, and was in direct violation of the organic law on which the Speculative Grand Lodge at London had been instituted.

The Quarterly Communications, where the supreme authority rested, were made up of thirty officers who were elected triennially.

There was also a Council consisting of nine officers and nine Masters of Paris Lodges. The decisions of this body, however, were only provisional or temporary and required to be confirmed by the Quarterly Communication to which they were reported.

The power of punishing offending brethren was vested in the Masters of Lodges, but there was an opportunity for the accused member to lay an appeal before the Grand Lodge.

The Masters of Lodges were in general chosen for life. They were not removable by the Lodges over which they presided, and which in fact were merely, in many instances, instruments provided for the selfish interests of their Masters.

Thory, strangely enough, calls the Constitution of which these are the principal points "simple, uncomplicated, and conformable to the regulations of foreign Grand Lodges." The Masonic reader will be able to give to these very favorable views their proper value.

This author admits that there were abuses. He attributes them to the factions which agitated the Grand Lodge after the death of the Duke d'Antin, and to the state of anarchy which followed upon the suspension of the labors of the Grand Lodge by the order of the French Government.

There is no question these circumstances exerted an unfavorable influence on the purity of the administration of the law. Whatever were the causes, the abuses existed, and, of course, their reformation was urgently demanded.

The new Constitution of the Grand Orient provided a remedy on all these points and presented the desired reform. This conclusion may be seen from the following brief view of its principal features:

"The Statutes of the Royal Order of Freemasonry in France." Such was the imposing title of the new Constitution. There was provided in the initial article that the "Masonic Body of France," that is, the Grand Orient, should be composed, as its only members, of regular Freemasons, meaning thereby the members of Lodges which had received Warrants from or had them renewed by the Grand Orient.

While all regular Freemasons were recognized in this way as constituting a part of the great Masonic family of France, those who still maintained their loyalty to the old and rival Grand Lodge were excluded from recognition.

We may excuse this reservation of rights as a defensive act, the necessity of which excused its severity.

The Constitution also declared that the Grand Orient should be composed of all the actual Masters or the Deputies of Lodges not only of Paris but also of the Provinces.

The Grand Lodge had never recognized the Provincial Lodges as forming any part of its own membership. Their recognition by the Grand Orient as entitled to take a part in its labors was the removal of a very flagrant abuse of the Masonic law of equality.

All the Warrants of Constitution which had been granted by the old Grand Lodge to irremovable Masters, that is, to Masters elected for life, were made void by the Grand Orient. The new Constitution recognized as Masters only those who were elected from time to time by the Lodges.

These changes in the approved laws were the most important points of difference between the Grand Lodge and the Grand Orient. But they were so important as to make the old Masonic form of government, as Thory expresses it, an oligarchical government, the absolute control by an irresponsible few. That of the new one was representative, the only form of management that was recognized by the founders of the Speculative system of Freemasonry.

Freemasonry is a society based on the democratic principle of equality. To uphold that state of affairs it is very evident that the administration of affairs should not be confided to a privileged class, to the exclusion of many of its members.

The Grand Orient of France began and went ahead in a dissenting course of its own self-willed power. While it was to that extent irregular and illegal in its methods of organization, the end would seem to have justified the means. There is no doubt that at that important epoch, the Masonic Order in France was indebted for its salvation from the threatened uprooting to the establishment of the Grand Orient.

The "Grand Orient" was, as it were, the general title assumed for the whole Masonic Order. Within its bosom was the body called "The National Grand Lodge." However, the distinctive titles were more shadowy than real. But "Grand Orient" is the name by which the Supreme authority of Freemasonry is always described by French as well as other Continental and South American writers.

The title was a novel one, first invented in France at that time. Never before had it been heard of in Masonic language, though it has long since become quite common on the Continent of Europe and in South America. Nevertheless, the title has never been adopted by the Freemasons of any of the English-speaking nations. These adhere to the primitive and possibly the better phrase, "Grand Lodge," as the title of the Supreme Masonic authority.

The first meeting of the Grand Orient as a National Grand Lodge was held on March 5, 1773. Other communications followed that one, until June 24th, when the new Constitution was adopted. The choice of the Duke of Chartres as Grand Master, a nomination that had been made by the old Grand Lodge, was also confirmed. The holding of their offices for a limited term only by the Masters of Lodges, and the right of the Provincial Lodges to be represented in the Grand Orient were again proclaimed. The choice of fifteen officers of honor as well as the nomination of the ordinary officers was referred to the Duke of Luxembourg.

Though the Duke of Chartres had been nominated as Grand Master, he had not yet formally accepted the proposal. His acceptance was an act which the members of the new Grand Orient felt to be imperatively necessary to the success of their designs. Having been previously elected to the same office by the old Grand Lodge, the founders of the Grand Orient recognized the policy of withdrawing him from all connection with the rival organization and of securing the active connection to their cause of a prince of the royal blood.

We must confess that morally considered no man in France was more unfit to be called to the head of the Masonic institution than the Duke of Chartres. From his early youth he had exhibited a vicious disposition. Among companions, almost as wicked as himself, he had spent a life of vice and in the indulgence of the most depraved practices. When on the death of his father he became the Duke of Orleans, he developed a hatred for the King, who had refused to elevate him to posts to which his high birth entitled him to aspire, but from which he was excluded by his blackened reputation.

Inspired with his dislike for the King and the Court, and moved by his personal ambition, the Duke fostered the discontents which were already springing up among the people. On the breaking out of the Revolution he became a seeker for popular favor. He rivaled the bitterness of the most fanatical Jacobins, renounced his rank and title and assumed as a French citizen the name of Philippe Égalité (Philip Equality), denied Freemasonry as opposed to Republican ideas, such as were then the fashion, threw up his office as Grand Master, was elected to the National Assembly,

and voted for the death of his cousin, Louis the Sixteenth. Finally, as a fitting close to his life of infamy, he expired on the guillotine, one of the many victims of the Reign of Terror.

When he was elected as Grand Master, the Duke of Chartres, though very young,¹ had already exhibited a foreshadowing of his future career of infamy. Certainly enough was known of his vicious character to have made him unfit for choice as the leader of a virtuous society. But motives of policy overcame all other considerations.

Even the Duke himself was slow to accept the position which was tendered to him. Some jests on the subject were said to have been made by the wits of the Court, who perhaps saw the unfitness of the appointment. These comments are claimed to have been the cause of the coldness with which he viewed the dignity tendered to him.²

A delegation consisting of four members of the Grand Orient, all men of rank, waited on the Duke to obtain his consent to the adoption of the new Constitution. Such an acceptance of the proposition by him would of course have been the recognition of the new body which had enacted it. But he refused to see the delegation.

A chance was soon provided to renew the appeal to the Duke of Chartres for coöperation. The joyful event of the birth of a son³ and heir presented it was supposed another and a more favorable opportunity for obtaining the Duke's consent to their proceedings. The expectation was gratified. The Duke of Luxembourg, who took an earnest interest in the success of the Grand Orient and who exercised much influence over the mind of the prince, repaired to his residence long before the appearance of the delegation and succeeded in obtaining his consent to grant the visiting members of the Fraternity an interview.

Accordingly they were admitted to the Duke's presence. His approval was obtained of the proceedings by which the Grand Orient was organized, and he consented that his installation as

¹ He was born in 1747, and was therefore only twenty-six years of age when he was elected Grand Master.

² This was the cause given by the writers of that period for the reluctance with which he gave his consent. See Thory, "Fondation du Grand Orient," p. 39.

³ This child was the Duke of Valois, afterwards Duke of Chartres, then Duke of Orleans, and finally King Louis Philippe of France.

Grand Master should take place soon after his return from a visit to the royal palace at Fontainebleau which he was obliged to make.

These plans were carried into effect. He was installed as Grand Master in his own house, called *la Folie Titon*, in the Rue de Montreuil, on October 28, 1773. The Grand Orient was thus legalized, so far as the Duke de Chartres' patronage could make it so, as the Supreme legislative authority of the Masonic Order in France.

This installation by its rival of the same Grand Master whom it had itself elected in 1771, and who still officially retained that position, was a cause of great annoyance to the old Grand Lodge. However, the old Grand Lodge did not cease at once to exist, but continued its labors, exercising a wordy warfare with the Grand Orient for several years.

The Grand Lodge held a session on June 17, 1773. At this communication there were present those Masters of the Paris Lodges who were still faithful to it and some deserters from the Grand Orient, who had abandoned that body when it repealed the law of continuous office holding by Masters.

At this session the Grand Lodge issued its decrees against the Grand Orient, which it declared to be a schismatic or dissenting and disloyal body, formed in an underhanded fashion — a mere insurgent faction.

On September 10th it declared the eight commissioners deprived of all Masonic rights, and forbade their admission to any of the Lodges.

Fully recognizing the embarrassment which resulted from the installation of the Duke of Chartres, yet it determined to maintain its independence and to continue its labors with the assistance of the few Lodges which still adhered to it. For this purpose it repeated its attacks upon the Grand Orient and revoked all its decrees as fast as they were passed. The Grand Lodge had among its adherents some able men, who employed their talents in the composition and publication of circulars and even books in which the Grand Orient and all its proceedings were denounced.

Replies of a like character were not wanting on the part of the Grand Orient. Among the most able and energetic defenders of that organization was the Duke of Luxembourg, while M. Gouil-

liard, a Doctor of Laws and the Grand Orator of the Grand Lodge, was the most conspicuous writer on behalf of that body.

We should find it very tedious to follow in all its details this interlocking war of "paper pellets," which lasted with equal bitterness on both sides for many years. Sufficient for the purpose is it for us to pursue, with rapid sketch, the progress of each of the rival bodies until the close of the century, when a union was finally accomplished.

The Grand Lodge assumed the title in 1774 of the "One and Only Grand Orient of France,"¹ and proceeded to the election of its Grand Officers under the auspices of the Duke of Chartres, whom it recognized as "Grand Master of all the Lodges of France." It again decreed that the so-called Grand Orient of France was irregular, and its members and supporters were unlawful Freemasons; it forbade its Lodges to admit them as visitors unless they gave up their errors and promised submission to the Grand Lodge; and it also ordered that none of the members of its own Lodges should visit bodies of the Grand Orient.

The Grand Lodge granted Warrants in 1775 to eight Lodges in Paris and to still more in the Provinces, and continued to increase the number of Lodges under its obedience for many successive years, so that its existence was not merely a formal one. On the contrary, it appears to have been a troublesome though not eventually a successful rival of the Grand Orient.

In 1780 the Grand Lodge must at last have felt the inconvenience of having a Grand Master only in name, for there is no record that the Duke of Chartres, or his Substitute, the Duke of Luxembourg, ever attended its Communications. To remedy this evil, the Grand Lodge in that year appointed three Honorary Presidents, who were to supply the place of the Grand Master in his absence from the meetings.

We shall agree that the old Grand Lodge was not yet dead nor dying notwithstanding the greater activity of its rival, the Grand Orient. So much at least is evident from the fact that in its Tableau (Official Report of Standing), issued in 1783, it reports the number of Lodges under its jurisdiction in Paris as well as the Provinces as amounting to the respectable number of 352. In the same year the English printed lists enumerate 453 Lodges, but

¹ Seul et Unique Grand Orient de France.

many of these were extinct and 123 were situated in foreign countries. There were actually at that time more Lodges in France under obedience to the old Grand Lodge than there were in England under the jurisdiction of the "Modern" Grand Lodge.¹

Political troubles which began in 1789 to agitate the kingdom, and which soon after resulted in the French Revolution, had a very serious effect on the condition of Freemasonry. Attendance on the Lodges was very infrequent. Finally, in 1792, the Grand Lodge suspended its labors and the members were scattered.

From the time of its organization in 1773, the Grand Orient had maintained a successful existence. The proceedings were patronized by a socially higher class of Freemasons than those of which the Grand Lodge was composed. The Grand Orient had the support of the Grand Master of both bodies, his Substitute, the Duke of Luxembourg, showing a very evident partiality for the Grand Orient, and not only never attending the meetings but actually denying the authority of the Grand Lodge.

There is no question that the record of the Grand Orient's transactions for these sixteen years supplies us with more interesting incidents than those which mark the quiet progress of the Grand Lodge during the same period.

The Grand Orient's contests with the Grand Lodge for supremacy were unremittingly maintained. The mutual attacks of the two leading Masonic bodies did not tend to cultivate a spirit of fraternity. Finding itself embarrassed for the want of the registers and other archives which were retained by the Grand Lodge, the Grand Orient went so far as to apply to the Lieutenant of Police and cause the arrest and imprisonment of the Keeper of the Seals and some other members of the Grand Lodge. But the effort to obtain possession of the documents, even by this harsh means, was unsuccessful.

Want of the registers made it impossible to discover the number and names of the country Lodges. Most of these Lodges, having been established under the old and corrupt system of permanent Masters or Masters for life, maintained their loyalty to the Grand Lodge, which still preserved the practice.

¹ See List No. 16 in Gould's "Four Old Lodges," p. 68.

The Grand Orient, therefore, in the hope that the knowledge of its existence and its authority might be brought nearer these country Lodges, established Provincial Grand Lodges, as another of the important changes which it was making in the usages of French Freemasonry.

These Provincial Grand Lodges were not, however, established on the same plan as those of England. Their design was, as has been said, to relieve the Grand Orient of the embarrassment of governing Lodges at a distance.

A Provincial Grand Lodge was to be established not in a Province only, but in any town or place where there were not less than three Lodges; it was to have a superintendence over them; its decrees were to be subject only to appeal to the Grand Orient; it was to collect and transmit all dues, and was to be the medium of all correspondence between the Lodges and the Grand Orient.

Thus standing at this distance from its subordinate bodies, the Grand Orient became rather aristocratic in its ideas. A further showing of this tendency occurred when it refused to recognize as members of the Order persons who were attached to the public theatres, and all artisans who were not Master workmen in their trades. Later on it forbade the Lodges to meet in public taverns, a reform which their brethren in England had not yet reached.

The title of "Royal Order," by which Freemasonry had hitherto been designated in France, was exchanged in 1774 for that of the "Masonic Order," certainly a more appropriate name.

The Grand Orient was occupied in 1775 determining the form of the Masonic government in the kingdom. Several decrees were made for the regulation of the Deputies and Representatives of Lodges. The brethren in official circles declared their purpose was to purify the Order and the Lodges which were profaned by the presence of corrupt men, and a commission was appointed to carry these intentions into effect.

The Duke of Chartres presided at a meeting of the Grand Orient in July, 1776, being the first time that he had been present since his installation in 1773.

The liking for "High Degrees" and the growth of Councils and Chapters which conferred them independently of the Grand

Orient, had led the members of that body to take into consideration the wisdom of following what had now become the fashion on the Continent and more especially in France, and of developing within its own circle of authority a Rite which should be founded on the three symbolic degrees which had hitherto been practiced by the Grand Orient and by the Grand Lodge. A Chamber of Degrees or Committee to regulate this matter was accordingly appointed in 1782. Two years after that appointment this Chamber reported four degrees, which, with the three symbolic ceremonies of the Lodge as a foundation, were to constitute the "*Rite Français*" or French Rite.

These additional degrees were entitled *Elu, Ecossais, Chevalier d'Orient* and *Chevalier Rose Croix*, or, as they may be translated, Elect Freemason, Scottish Freemason, Knight of the East and Knight of the Rose Croix. Though there were some modifications of the rituals, the degrees were not an original conception of the Committee. They were borrowed substantially from those systems which had been practiced in France since the period of the Chevalier Ramsay.

When the degrees were adopted by the Grand Orient, that body officially decreed that they should henceforth be the only ones recognized and practiced in the several Chapters which were attached to the Lodges under its jurisdiction.

Undoubtedly the adoption of these new degrees was a manifest addition to the pure system of primitive Speculative Freemasonry, an innovation which the more conservative spirits of the English-speaking Grand Lodges had always resisted.

Nevertheless, under the peculiar character which Continental Freemasonry had long assumed, it was really for the best that the Grand Orient should adopt a system of development comparatively simple and consisting of only four additional degrees, and confine its Lodges within those limits. Better was this by far than to permit them to become the victims of the numerous and extravagant systems by which they were surrounded and which were practiced by irresponsible Chapters and Councils.

The French Lodges of the Grand Orient were thus provided with a uniform system of their own, much better than the many diverse ones, the weeds whose weakness of worth was a constant menace to all unity and solidity of Speculative Freemasonry.

Lodges under the Grand Orient, like those under the Grand Lodge, suspended their labors in 1791 and closed their doors because of the existing political agitations. Still the Grand Orient, even in that year, constituted two or three Lodges, but Freemasonry had really assumed a sleeping condition throughout the kingdom.

Notwithstanding the sleep of the Lodges, several of the officers of the Grand Orient boldly sustained its activity so far as circumstances would permit. In France, at this day of trial, there were, as there were in America in a long and somewhat later period of persecution, some Freemasons who were willing to become martyrs to their convictions of the purity and worthiness of the institution, and to the love which they bore for it.

No such sentiments animated the bosom of the faithless Grand Master, the Duke of Chartres. By the death of his father, he had become Duke of Orleans, and having abandoned his family and his class, had rejected his hereditary title and assumed, according to the fashion of the *Sans Culottes*,¹ the name of the Citizen Equality — *le Citoyen Égalité*.

The Secretary of the Grand Orient having in December, 1792, addressed him an official note relative to the labors of the body over which he was supposed to preside, the Duke of Chartres made a reply in the following words, on May 15, 1793:

“As I do not know how the Grand Orient is constituted, and as I, moreover, do not think that there should be any mystery or secret Society in a Republic, especially at the beginning of its establishment, I no longer wish to have anything to do with the Grand Orient or with the meetings of Freemasons.”

This blunt, and in its terms insulting, withdrawal was received, as it may be readily supposed, by the members of the Grand Orient with expressions of the utmost indignation. We are told that the sword of the Order, one of the insignia of the Grand Master, was broken by the presiding officer and cast into the midst of the Assembly, and the Grand Mastership was declared vacant.

A few of the Lodges resumed their labors in 1795, and Monsieur Roëttiers de Montaleau was elected Grand Master. He,

¹ A term of reproach applied by the aristocracy and their friends to the French revolutionists of 1789. The words mean “a man without breeches.”

however, refused to take the title, and assumed that of "Grand Venerable," with, however, all the privileges and functions of a Grand Master.

However, the progress of restoration to Masonic activity was very slow. In 1796 there were but eighteen Lodges in active operation in the whole of France; namely, three at Paris, and the remaining fifteen in the Provinces.

Commissioners who had been appointed by the Grand Lodge and the Grand Orient concluded a Treaty of Union in May, 1799, between the two rival bodies. The Grand Lodge in this Treaty agreed to give up the old and objectionable custom it had always hitherto maintained of the irremovability of Masters, and it accepted the doctrine of the Grand Orient, that the presiding officers should thereafter be elected by the members of the Lodges.

On June 22, 1799, the two former rivals met in a United Assembly. The Union of all the Freemasons of France was brought about, the title of Grand Orient being continued, to designate the supreme Masonic authority, and the Grand Lodge ceased to exist.

Thus the rivalry which had existed in France for twenty-six years between two Masonic bodies, each claiming to be the head of the Order, was ended by this welcome Union.

In England the same sort of rivalry had existed between the Grand Lodge of the "Moderns" and that of the "Antients" for a much longer time, and was brought to an end at a later period by a similar Union.

But in the circumstances connected with this war among the brethren there were some singular coincidences which are worthy of remark.

In the first place, the original disruption was practically based in each kingdom on a single fundamental point of difference.

The English difficulty was on the recognition of certain changes in the ritual. The "Moderns" contended that there were in Speculative Freemasonry no more than the three primitive degrees of Apprentice, Fellow-Craft, and Master Mason. The "Antients" affirmed that for the completion of the ritual a further degree, or a development of the Third degree, a ceremony which they called the "Royal Arch," or ceremony of Exaltation, was essentially

necessary, and that without it as an addition to the Third degree, the system of Speculative Freemasonry was imperfect and therefore worthless.

The single point of difference between the two bodies in France was that of the irremovability of the Masters of Lodges. The Grand Lodge had from the very beginning of its authentic history granted Constitutions to certain Masters for the establishment of Lodges over which they were to preside by a perpetual tenure of office, that is, they were to act as Masters for life. Now as these "irremovable Masters" were often, nay almost always, appointed through corrupt or at least it is fair to say selfish motives, and as the Lodges thus became, in a way, their personal property, the attempt was made in time to abolish them and to make the presidency of the Lodges elective.

This reform, for it was evidently a reform, was opposed by the Grand Lodge. Hence, those who were in favor of it established the Grand Orient for the purpose of carrying out their views, and one of its first acts was to pass a decree abolishing the practice and setting aside the authority of the self-elected Masters.

There were, of course, further motives for the differences in the two countries, but these were undoubtedly the leading ones.

Thus in England and in France there was a dissension or schism, if you please, founded on a single difference of opinion, but this conflict as it existed in each country never extended into the other. The English Lodges never entertained the question of Masters for life. From the organization of the Grand Lodge at London, those officers had always been annually elected, and this doctrine was held by both Grand Lodges, "Modems" and "Antients."

French Lodges were never embarrassed by the question of a Fourth degree, or a part thereof, which was the bone of contention in England. Though there were Chapters and Councils in which a Royal Arch degree under various modifications had existed from the time of the Chevalier Ramsay, these bodies had no legal connection with or recognition by either the Grand Lodge or the Grand Orient. Both of the latter bodies maintained the doctrine that pure Freemasonry consisted of only three degrees.

Another parallel of very interesting coincidence in the contentions among the brethren of the two countries was the following:

As both in England and France there were, during the contest, two bodies, each claiming the sole Masonic power, it is evident that in each country, one of each of the two pairs must have been irregular, illegal, and schismatic, for it is the law of Freemasonry that the sovereignty can not be divided.

In England the later and certainly to that extent at least the illegal body was the Grand Lodge of the "Antients"; the older and on that ground surely the constitutional one was the Grand Lodge of the "Moderns."

In France the schismatic and illegal body was the Grand Orient, which had been irregularly formed; the legal and constitutional body was the Grand Lodge.

Now it is very remarkable that when in each country the dissensions which had so long existed were brought to an amicable end and a union effected in the settlement of the principal question upon which the schism had been founded, the irregular organization gained the victory, and the regular body was compelled to accept the doctrine which it had so long and so earnestly resisted.

Of course in this reference to "regularity" we are applying these principles of Masonic law now generally accepted but which at the date under discussion could not be expected to be so precisely defined or even well known.

Thus in England the Grand Lodge of "Moderns" recognized at the Union the Royal Arch, which it had always rejected as a trespass upon the landmarks, as one of the regular degrees of ancient Craft Freemasonry.

In France the Grand Lodge abandoned the doctrine of the irremovability of Masters, for which it had always strenuously fought, and accepted the theory and usage of the Grand Orient, that the office of Master should be elective.

Although the Grand Lodge and the Grand Orient had been merged into one governing body of the French Freemasons, there were still difficulties presenting themselves in the way of the effort to establish a unification of the Masonic system in the kingdom.

The many advanced degrees, which from a very early period had been introduced into France, had been conferred in Councils and Chapters. These bodies had never been recognized by

either the Grand Lodge or the Grand Orient, but had always acted independently of either authority.

Such separate organizations were the Council of Emperors of the East and West, the General Grand Chapter, and finally the Supreme Council which had been organized by Count de Grasse Tilly in 1804, under the authority of the Supreme Council at Charleston in the State of South Carolina.

In 1802 the Grand Orient had forbidden its Lodges to confer any degrees which were not recognized by it. This caused the Scottish Lodges, or those conferring these additional degrees, to establish a separate home of their own in the Boulevard Poissonière. Here they continued to practice the Scottish Rite in defiance of the order issued by the Grand Orient. Finally, they established the "General Scottish Grand Lodge of France." The existence of this body was but a temporary one, for in two years it united with the Grand Orient.

Seeing the strong desires of the French Freemasons for the elaboration and the mysteries of these high degrees, the Grand Orient, through the prudent counsels of Roëttiers de Montaleau, the Grand Master, took action in the hope that it might put an end to all divisions in reference to Masonic Rites. The Grand Orient declared that it would unite in its own bosom and recognize all Rites and Degrees whose dogmas and principles were in harmony with the general system of the Order.

Thus it has come to pass that even at the present day the Grand Orient assumes jurisdiction over all the degrees of Freemasonry in France from the First to the Thirty-third.

There was a useless attempt to effect a Union between the Grand Orient and the Supreme Council of the Ancient and Accepted Rite. Then the latter body assumed and still maintains jurisdiction over the Rite on which it is founded, and grants Constitutions to Lodges of the Symbolic degrees.

Thus there were by this action in France two independent authorities in Freemasonry — the Grand Orient which claims jurisdiction over all Rites, and the Supreme Council which confines its jurisdiction to the Ancient and Accepted Rite.

More recently out of this body has sprung an independent Scottish Grand Lodge, whose existence as permanent or temporary is yet to be determined by the verdict of history.

There was previously a practical Union of the two governing bodies of French Freemasonry when by reason of the efforts of the Emperor Napoleon, whose membership in the Order seems to be generally accepted by students, the Chancellor Prince Cambacérès in 1805 was made Associate Grand Master, Grand Maitre Adjoint, to serve with the Emperor's brother, Joseph Buonaparte, later the King of Naples, at the head of the Fraternity, that place of authority then being vacant. Brother Cambacérès also became Sovereign Grand Commander of the Supreme Council of the Ancient and Accepted Scottish Rite in 1806. He held both offices until his resignation in 1814. Freemasonry became thus in France at that period an official or even a sort of State Institution. A crowd of initiates of the dignitaries of the Empire made their way into the bodies. In fact, the Grand Orient in 1814 had an array of 905 Lodges, of which 73 were with the Army.¹

From 1814 to 1852 the office of Grand Master was vacant, Associates only being in control of the duties of the position.

The Grand Orient on January 9, 1852, elected Prince Lucien Murat, cousin of the Emperor, as Grand Master. He had an active career and in 1860 was so far a dictator in methods as to introduce the police to make more certain his reëlection.²

However, the vote showed that the Prince Napoleon had a majority. By an imperial order the two princes were compelled to decline the candidacy for the position of Grand Master. The office was not filled until January 11, 1862, when by an edict the Emperor himself named Marshal Magnan as Grand Master of the Grand Orient. While the Marshal was not at his appointment even a member of the Fraternity, he became a sincere Free-mason and his zeal produced the most satisfactory results. He treated discreetly the evils brought about by the plans of Prince Murat, reorganized the finances, and recognizing the abuses formerly caused by misuse of the Grand Master's powers, he promoted a Constitutional revision of the Masonic laws resulting in the Assemblée Générale, a General Assembly of the Grand Orient

¹ Wirth, "Le Livre de l'Apprenti," 1908 edition, pp. 65-66.

² For very much of this information relative to the Grand Lodge of France, we are indebted to the courtesy of Brother Oswald Wirth, a Past Master of the Loge Travail et Vrais Amis Fidèles of Paris, who was officially delegated to supply the data.

exercising legislative functions. He also obtained from the Emperor the right for the Grand Orient to name its own presiding officers. So changed indeed was his position toward the Fraternity that on his death in 1865 he had gained of right the respectful recognition of all Freemasons.

During the last five years of the Empire the Grand Orient had at its head General Mellinet, an old Freemason profoundly devoted to the Craft that he served with as much benevolence as firmness.

Brother Babaud-Laribi  re only accepted the position in 1870 when he and his associates were preparing to abolish the dignity of anyone being named Grand Master. The chief official of the Grand Orient has since been a President.

The Grand Orient in its General Assembly frequently discussed the first article of the Constitution affirming the existence of Deity and the immortality of the soul. At a meeting in 1876 it was announced officially that Freemasonry should not support any dogma. The meeting or Convent of 1877 took occasion to modify the Constitution accordingly. Favored as this proposition was by clergymen such as Desmons, the French brethren claim that it was by no means a denial of the existence of God. The President of the Council, G. Corneau, suggests that the second paragraph of the first article of the Constitution is quite clear on this aspect of the case. The paragraph reads thus:

"Freemasonry has for its basic principles mutual tolerance, respect for others and for oneself, and liberty of conscience."

President Corneau goes further and says: "I can affirm that the Grand Orient of France is neither deist, atheist nor positivist. All philosophical conceptions are represented within its body."

But the other Grand Lodges of the world did not approve of this radical removal from the Constitution of the hitherto universal requirement that candidates should declare their belief in God. December, 1877, a Committee of eleven brethren was appointed by the Grand Lodge of England to consider the matter. In February of 1878, the Committee reported that the alteration made in its Constitution by the Grand Orient of France was "opposed to the traditions, practice and feelings of all true and genuine Freemasons from the earliest to the present time." Withdrawal of recognition by other Grand bodies soon followed this action of

the Grand Lodge of England. The Grand Orient has maintained her attitude and today in this respect is practically alone.

Let us return briefly to the launching of the present Grand Lodge of France. The Supreme Council of the Scottish Rite controlling a series of degrees from 1 to 33, the "blue" Lodges were represented by Deputies meeting every three months and thus making known the wishes of these subordinate bodies. Not possessing executive power there was some dissatisfaction and the Supreme Council struck from the roster those not sufficiently respectful to its authority. The brethren thus erased from the roll in 1868, 1873 and 1879 founded a Grand Lodge independent of the Supreme Council under the name of the Grand Loge Symbolique Ecossaise, the Symbolic Scottish Rite Grand Lodge. This body started out with a dozen Lodges and had about thirty on the roll in 1896 when joining with the Grand Lodge of France which was formed in 1894.

Formerly, in 1848, there had been a National Grand Lodge of France, La Grande Loge Nationale de France, formed by seventeen Lodges that had been affiliated with the Supreme Council. That new Masonic power proclaimed the sovereignty of the Lodges, planned a revision of all the various Rites and ceremonies, declared that the higher degrees were to be abolished and that the rituals of them should be placed at the disposal of the Masters.

These revolutionary projects pleased neither the Grand Orient nor the Supreme Council which refused to recognize the Grand Loge Nationale. The new organization born of the democracy active in 1848 was too advanced in its radicalism and met the opposition of the police which demanded the dissolution of the Grand Lodge. Unable to fight this enemy the Grand Lodge met for the last time on January 15, 1851, but before the assembly adjourned the brethren united in an energetic protest against the city's edict.

The Supreme Council had ever since the schism of 1880 many reminders of the tendency toward independence of "blue" Lodges and these differences had financial features not to be ignored. Accordingly by a decree of November 7, 1894, the Supreme Council consented to the self-control of the Lodges. Delegates of all the Lodges of the Scottish Rite met and resolved to form a Grand Lodge. This new federation was expected to unite the

Lodges under the Supreme Council with those that had formed the Grand Loge Symbolique. In principle, the Union was accepted but on February 23, 1895, the actual combination was officially postponed until the financial situation of each had been cleared up. The unity of symbolic Freemasonry so planned was not fully realized until the spring of 1897.

The Grand Lodge, nevertheless, continued to operate with due regard to the authority of the Supreme Council. In fact, she worked "au nom et sous les auspices du Suprême Conseil du Rite Ecossais Ancien Accepté pour la France et ses dépendances," in the name and under the auspices of the Supreme Council of the Ancient and Accepted Scottish Rite for France and her dependencies. That position was changed by an edict of the Supreme Council under date of July 26, 1904, after which the Grand Lodge was able to declare herself "independent, self-governing and sovereign."

An Independent and Regular Grand Lodge of France was organized in October, 1913. This body requires its Lodges to follow these rules:

"During the work, the Bible shall always be open upon the altar at the first chapter of St. John.

"The ceremonies shall strictly conform to the Ritual of the Rectified Regime, revised in 1778 and approved in 1782. (This is a Deistic Rite similar to English and American practice.)

"Communications shall always be opened and closed with prayer in the name of the Grand Architect of the Universe. Lodges shall insert upon their documents the inscription A. L. G. D. A. D. l'U (the initials of the French words meaning "To the Glory of the Grand Architect of the Universe").

"Religious and political discussions shall not be allowed in the Lodges.

"The brethren shall never officially as a Lodge take part in political affairs. Each brother shall reserve his own personal liberty of action.

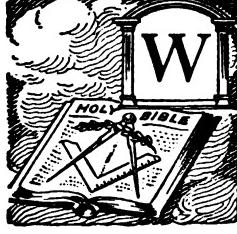
"Lodges of this obedience shall receive as visitors only the brethren belonging to bodies recognized by the Grand Lodge of England." ¹

¹ These laws and other details are from a letter sent by Grand Master D. E. de Ribaucourt to Brother R. I. Clegg and printed in full in the "Masonic Bibliophile," Vol. II., pp. 499-500.

This Grand Lodge was officially recognized by the Grand Master and the Grand Lodge of England, November 20 and December 3, 1913.

We have now traced the history of the Grand Orient to recent days and have shown the several important steps in her very interesting progress. As our investigations are here properly restricted to the Origin and Progress of the Grand Orient and that subject has been fully discussed, an end may now properly be given to the present chapter.

FREEMASONRY INTRODUCED TO NORTH AMERICA



E need not affirm our preference for documentary evidence in all historical research. That is the path of greatest safety. But there are other records that to many are of documentary and Masonic type and these memorials of the past are most instructive. They ought not to be omitted from mention here even if the available space for such studies must be very limited. As an example of this class, we refer to the striking structures of prehistoric times to be found in Northern and Central America. These contain a wealth of graven symbolism linking them through the long centuries from the arts of Phoenicia in the days of Solomon's Temple to the practices of the Cathedral Builders in the Middle Ages. So much and more we learn by the investigations of various scientists. In fact, Professor Nuttall says: "The role of the Phoenicians, as intermediaries of an ancient civilization, was greater than has been supposed, and that it is imperative that future research be devoted to a fresh study and examination of those indications which appear to show that America must have been intermittently colonized by the intermediation of Mediterranean seafarers.¹

We can do no more than hint at the literature dealing at length with the remains in America of an ancient civilization connecting us with them that wrought skilfully at the building of the Temple that has so large a place in our Masonic edifice. Such

¹ "The Fundamental Principles of Old and New World Civilizations," by Zelia Nuttall, Papers of Peabody Museum of American Archaeology and Ethnology, 1901, vol. II, p. 6, Cambridge, Mass. This essay extends to 602 pages. See also "The Swastika," by Thomas Wilson, U. S. National Museum, Report 1894, Washington, D. C.; "La Migration des Symboles," by Comte Goblet d'Alviella, 1891, Paris. A long list of authorities is available to show that the Phoenicians as Heeren says "extended their enterprises and undertakings much further than even the Venetians and Genoese in the Middle Ages." For the ancient scope of their labors, see the biblical account of their two principal cities, Tyre and Sidon, on record in "*Ezekiel*," Chapters 27 and 28.

evidence is very alluring. One is inclined to freely speculate among the collection of data. But we must pass on to more recent times and to more readily handled testimony.

Judge Thomas Chandler Haliburton, known also as the author of "Sam Slick," has published in Nova Scotia, 1827, some account of the finding of a memorial stone marked with the Square and Compasses. He says:

"The stone is about two feet and a half long and two feet broad, and of the same kind as that which forms the substratum of Granville Mountain. On the upper part are engraved the Square and Compass of the Free Mason, and in the center, in large and deep Arabic figures, the date 1606."¹

A description of the finding of the stone is in a letter written nearly thirty years after the discovery. The letter under date of June 2, 1856, signed by Dr. Charles T. Jackson, a chemist and geologist of Boston, is now in the possession of the New England Historic Genealogical Society and is as follows:

"When Francis Alger and myself made a mineralogical survey of Nova Scotia in 1827 we discovered upon the shore of Goat Island, in Annapolis Basin, a gravestone partly covered with sand and lying on the shore. It bore the Masonic emblems, square and compass, and had the figures 1606 cut in it.

"The rock was a flat slab of trap rock, common in the vicinity. At the ferry from Annapolis to Granville we saw a large rounded rock with this inscription 'La Bella 1649.' These inscriptions were undoubtedly intended to commemorate the place of burial of French soldiers who came to Nova Scotia, 'Annapolis Royal, Acadia,' in 1603.

"Coins, buttons, and other articles originally belonging to those early French settlers, are found in the soil of Goat Island in Annapolis Basin.

"The slab bearing date 1606, I had it brought over by the Ferryman to Annapolis, and ordered it to be packed in a box to be sent to the Old Colony Pilgrim Society (of Plymouth, Mass.), but Judge Haliburton, then Thomas Haliburton, Esq., prevailed on me to abandon it to him, and he now has it carefully preserved. On a late visit to Nova Scotia I found that the Judge had forgotten how he came by it, and so I told him all about it."

¹ "Historical and Statistical Account of Nova Scotia," 1829, Vol. II, pp. 155-157.

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The later history of the stone is traced by Bro. R. V. Harris.¹ About 1887 it was given by Robert G. Haliburton, son of Judge Haliburton, to the Canadian Institute of Toronto with the understanding that the stone should be inserted in the wall of the building then being erected for the Institute, the inscription to face inwardly in one of the principal rooms.

Sir Sanford Fleming wrote that he received the stone from R. G. Haliburton for the purpose of it being placed for safe keeping in the museum of the Canadian Institute. An entry respecting the stone is in the minutes of the Institute, acknowledging its arrival and receipt. Sir Daniel Wilson was then President, and on March 21, 1888, he read a paper on "Traces of European Immigration in the 17th Century," and exhibited the stone found at Port Royal bearing the date 1606.

Fleming is thus quoted by Bro. Harris: "I have myself seen it more than once since its being placed in the Canadian Institute. When the building was erected on the northwest corner of Richmond and Berti Streets, Toronto, instructions were given by Dr. Scadding to build it into the wall with the inscription exposed; but, very stupidly, it is said the plasterer covered it over with plaster, and even the spot can not now be traced, although the plaster has been removed at several places to look for it. Before these facts were made known to me, or any trace could be had of the stone, I had a long correspondence with the Institute authorities, and I further offered a reward of \$1,000 for the stone if it could be found, but it was all to no purpose. I regret extremely that I can throw so little light on it at this day. If ever the present building be taken down diligent search should be made for the historic stone, perhaps the oldest inscription stone in America."

Dr. Jackson's account, written after a lapse of thirty years, as to the place of discovery is rejected by Bro. Harris who agrees with Judge Haliburton who wrote his record at the place and at the time when the stone was found and was qualified as one who had made a study of the locality and of its history. Bro. Harris says: "Moreover, the historical facts stated by Judge Haliburton as to

¹ See an excellent historical paper entitled "The Masonic Stone of 1606," by Bro. Reginald V. Harris of St. Andrew's Lodge, No. 1, on the Registry of Nova Scotia, and read at a meeting, held on January 31, 1916, of the Nova Scotia Lodge of Research, and printed in the latter's "Transactions," Vol. I, No. 2, pp. 20-39.

the place of the first settlement by the French established beyond any doubt that the stone marked with the date 1606 was found on the peninsula extending from the Granville shore opposite Goat Island, Annapolis Basin."

There is no doubt about the Masonic emblems. Judge Haliburton wrote his description at first hand. Dr. Jackson confirms that account. Bro. Harris concludes after a critical survey of the evidence by saying that the stone was a gravestone; it marked the last resting place of a French settler who died in 1606; this settler was probably a workman and may have been an Operative Mason or stonemason; Speculative Freemasonry, unknown in France in 1606, was not practiced by the French colonists; and the emblem of the square and compasses would seem to be a trade-mark or emblem undoubtedly used by Operative Masons as their emblem, and possibly by carpenters as well. "The stone marked the grave of either a mason or stonemason or possibly a carpenter who died November 14, 1606, and not that of a Speculative Freemason."

While we prefer the presumption that the stone is a record of a Mason yet there is substantial grounds for the compasses and the square being used by carpenters in an emblematic style. The coat-of-arms of the Carpenters' Company contains three pairs of compasses arranged in a triangular form. This is the official style as ordained by the Grant of Arms and the Charter of Edward IV., in 1477, the compasses, by the way, being separated by a black-toothed, or saw-edged band forming an angle of about ninety degrees, similar to a soldier's chevrons, and placed point upward on a silver shield. The Charter describes the design in the language of heraldry as "thise armes folowynge that is to sey A felde Siluer (or silver) a Cheveron sable (or black) grayled (saw or comb-like at the edges or sides) iii Compas of the same."¹

The Company of Carpenters had the Arms carved in wood "with the addition of various instruments belonging to the art of Carpentry." This was done in 1579 and the T-square, the hatchet, the mallet, the compasses, the square, etc., are placed in the design but of course outside the shield bearing the official "Arms."² However, the square and compasses in the border

¹ "An Historical Account of the Worshipful Company of Carpenters of the City of London," by Edward Basil Jupp, Clerk of the Company, 1848, p. 11.

² "Jupp's History," p. 224, has an illustration with other particulars of this carving.

while placed one above the other are not in the familiar position usually characteristic of Masonic use.

A suggestion of R. W. Bro. Rev. William Driffield of Digby is quoted thus by Bro. Harris:

"We must not forget that at that time the carpenters of France had their own mystery or trade Gild, worked on lines somewhat akin to Operative Masonry, and using the square and compasses as their emblems."

By way of backing up this claim, Bro. Driffield quotes aptly from *Les Rouges du Midi*, by Felix Gras, a Provençal poet and novelist whose works, he tells us, were highly esteemed by the late W. E. Gladstone. The book was written in 1792 and contains this account of a visit by Vauclair, a carpenter from Marseilles, to Planctot, a carpenter residing and working in Paris:

"As we stood outside the door we could hear the smooth 'hush hush' of a big plane as it threw off the long shavings, but the planing stopped short at our loud knock, and then the door flew open and there was Planctot himself. It was plain that he knew Vauclair on the instant, but instead of shaking hands with him, he turned his back and rushed off like a crazy man. . . . In a few moments we heard the clatter of old Planctot's wooden shoes on the stair. He had come to greet Vauclair according to the rite and ceremonial of their craft. He had put on his Sunday hat and his best wig; and before he said a word he laid a compass and a square down on the floor between himself and Vauclair. At once Vauclair made the correct motions of hand and foot, to which Planctot replied properly; and then, under their raised hands, they embraced over the . . . compass and square."

Bro. Driffield thus comments upon the foregoing: "Old Planctot is several times called 'le Maitre' or 'the Master,' which I take to denote his standing in the craft. I think there can be no doubt of the existence of such a craft Gild among French carpenters at the beginning of the 17th century, that is about 1606."

We may add to this statement that the famous French Compagnonnage was active in that century, falling under the Roman Catholic Church ban because of its freedom of thought and being condemned by the Faculty of Theology at Paris in 1655. The above organization was a league of many craft Gilds of which the most important were closely connected with building, carpenters,

masons, joiners, etc., or with the clothing trades. Having mystic legends, symbolic rites, claims to an ancient origin, tests and passwords, secret ceremonies, etc., it differed from usual Gild practice and from Freemasonry in that employers were excluded.¹ The mark on the Nova Scotian stone may not unlikely be of some connection with one of the French Gilds or the Compagnonnage itself.

Reference in the letter written by Dr. Jackson is made to the rock with the inscription "La Belle 1649." This expression "La Belle" (the beautiful) is corrected and the stone discussed by Bro. Robertson,² as well as Bro. Harris.³ The Lebel (not La Belle) stone, we are told by the above authorities, is in the possession of the late Fred Leavitt of Annapolis. Lebel was the name of a clever business man of Paris, who spent several years in Port Royal, Acadia, where he was the guardian of D'Aulnay de Charnisay's children. He returned to France evidently after 1649 and lived for many years. These facts in regard to Lebel, says Bro. Harris, were unearthed by the late Dr. James Hannay, of St. John, N.B., who gave the results of his researches in a very interesting paper read before the Nova Scotia Historical Society on January 5, 1882. The stone, he says, resembles one which a man would use as a door step or house sign.

A claim has been examined and rejected by Bro. John Ross Robertson that Sir William Alexander, of Menstrie, Scotland, known as Lord Alexander and Viscount Canada, who was a member of Mary's Chapel Lodge, Edinburgh, in 1634, had introduced Freemasonry into Nova Scotia. Sir William had charters from the Crown for the occupation of the whole of Nova Scotia in 1621–25–28, and settled a Scotch colony at Port Royal, afterwards Annapolis Royal. The father returned to Scotland leaving the colony in command of his son, and he, after the peace of 1632, when his possessions were returned to France, also sailed to Scotland with most of his settlers and he did not return. It was after this, in 1634, that he entered Mary's Chapel Lodge, so that the

¹ See "Compagnonnage," W. H. Rylands, "Ars Quatuor Coronatorum," Vol. I, p. 116, Vol. II, p. 52; "La Compagnonnage d'arts et metiers à Dijon au XVII^e et XVIII^e siècles," Henri Hanser, 1907; "Gilds in the Middle Ages," Georges Renard, translated into English by D. Terry, London, 1918.

² "History of Freemasonry in Canada," John Ross Robertson, P. G. M., Vol. I, p. 1370.

³ "Transactions," Nova Scotia Lodge of Research, 1916, Vol. I, No. 2, p. 30.

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statement that he had any Masonic knowledge while in Nova Scotia is undoubtedly without proof. It is suggested that he may have been initiated by brethren whom he found at Annapolis, but there is no evidence of Craft Masonry in that place until after 1737, so that the Alexander story is also mythical and besides, if true, he would not have been initiated again in Scotland. Dr. Murray Lyon, in his *History of Freemasonry in Scotland*, gives extracts from the original minutes of the Lodge of Edinburgh, showing that on "The 3 day off Joulay, 1634," Lord Alexander, the son of Sir William, was "admitet folowe off the Craft" in that Lodge.¹

Among the curios of early suggestions of a Masonic type in America we may not improperly mention one recorded by a Minute in the Plymouth Colony Records referring to the receipt by the Colony of New Haven of a package of goods sent from Coopers' Hall, London, in March, 1654, to America. This package of goods was individually marked in a peculiar way from the rest of the consignment. The marking includes what clearly seems to be intended for a representation of the square and compasses.

The reference is upon page 137, Vol. X, of the Records and opposite page viii of the introduction. The mark or hieroglyphic is attached to a letter of instruction which reads as follows:

"Among the goods sent this year we find one (bale) No. 19, which cost there 34£ 09s 05d., and with the advance amounts to 45£ 19s 03d., directed to Mr. Eliote² for the use of the Indian worke, but why it is severed from the Rest of the psell and consigned to him is not expressed; It seems different from the course youer selves approved, and may prove Inconvenient if it bee Continued; but this psell shal bee delivered according to youer desire. . . .

"Newhaven, the 15th September, 1655."

Why the package was given the unusual distinction of this separate treatment by the shipper is today as much a puzzle to us as it appears to have been to the writer of the letter of instructions in 1655 but a not unreasonable supposition is that that

¹ "History of Freemasonry in Canada," John Ross Robertson, P. G. M., 1900, Vol. I, p. 138.

² John Eliote, born 1604, died 1690, known as the "Apostle to the Indians," was an English missionary to Massachusetts and minister of the Church at Roxbury, near Boston. He translated the Bible into the Indian tongues and wrote a grammar and a catechism in the native languages, ever laboring zealously to train the wandering tribes into Christian community living.

sender of the parcel and very probably the receiver of the goods were familiar with the peculiar significance of the characteristic mark used on the wrapper. Whether one or both of these persons were members of the Craft is now a very difficult problem to solve with any degree of certainty.

Weefen's *Economic and Social History of New England* is quoted by Bro. John Ross Robertson in his *History of Freemasonry in Canada*, p. 138, vol. I. Writing of the year 1658 we are informed:

"The commerce of Newport (Rhode Island) was extending certainly. The wealthy Jews who contributed so much to it afterward, appear now. It is said that fifteen families came in from Holland this year, bringing with their goods and mercantile skill the first three degrees of Freemasonry."

Bro. Robertson styles this "another weak effort of the manufacturers of tradition," and further says of it that "Two at least of the first three degrees — and not a great deal of the first — were not in existence at this period, so that this creation of the historian has been fashioned out of nothing."

Peterson in his *History of Rhode Island*, p. 101, states:

"In the spring of 1658, Mordecai Campannall, Moses Packekoe, Levi and others, in all fifteen families, arrived at Newport from Holland. They brought with them the three first degrees of Masonry and worked them in the house of Campannall, and continued to do so they and their successors to the year 1742."

Documentary evidence has been claimed to be on record to prove these assertions. This was asserted to be in the possession of Bro. N. H. Gould of Newport, R. I. A careful study of the situation was made by M. W. Bro. Gardner and Bro. Robertson reports the findings thus:

"Bro. Gould informed him (Bro. Gardner) that the original document was found amongst the effects of a relative, and that the paper which contained the writing was in such a dilapidated condition that it was nearly undecipherable, and could not be reproduced by any known process. The paper, however, was submitted to Bro. Gardner, who examined it and found that nothing could be made out, save that in 1656 or 1658 'Wee Mett att ye House off Mordecai Campannall, and after Synagog Wee gave Abm Moses the degrees of Maconrie.' M. W. Bro. Gardner came to the conclusion that the evidence was not at all

substantial or trustworthy, and that it was 'almost impossible to treat the story with the attention which the subject demands.'"

P. G. M. Melvin M. Johnson of Massachusetts whose *Freemasonry in America Prior to 1750* is a mine of valuable information says on p. 336, Abstract of Proceedings (1916) of the Grand Lodge of Massachusetts, that "There is a tale of modern fabrication that a dilapidated document had been found which recited that certain Hebrews were given the 'Degrees of Maconrie' in 1656 or 1658 at Newport, Rhode Island. Unless and until the document is produced and / or accounted for, no credit can be given it."¹ The report of Bro. Gardner examining the document, mentioned by Bro. Robertson in his *History*, being brought to the notice of Bro. Johnson, the latter promptly replied by letter to the following effect: "Bro. Gardner never examined the original document alleged to have been in the hands of Bro. N. H. Gould of Newport, R. I. He made efforts to get a look at it but the document itself was never produced. Any inference that Bro. Gardner saw the document is an error. That is why I made the statement which I did about its production." Bro. Johnson is supported in his position by Bro. Henry W. Rugg who prepared a memorial volume, 1895, of the History of Freemasonry in Rhode Island including a full account of the celebration of the One Hundredth Anniversary of the Grand Lodge held on June 24, 1891.

Samuel Oppenheim reexamined the evidence in the case and arrived at the conclusion that there were good grounds for believing the old report. His findings appear in a paper entitled *The Jews and Masonry in the United States Before 1810*. This essay is printed in the *Publications of the Jewish Historical Society*, vol. ix, New York. The first footnote to the article tells us that "The author is not a Mason." However, Mr. Oppenheim's position was not allowed to go free of attack. Sidney S. Rider of Providence, Rhode Island, published in his magazine, *Book Notes*, vol. xxii, No. 13, July 1, 1905, some criticisms of the Oppenheim essay. These comments were headed *The Silly Story of the Exercise of Masonic Rites by Jews at Newport, R. I., in 1656 Exploded*, a title fairly expressive of the style adopted by the author in what he has to say upon the subject.

¹ See also "Proceedings," Grand Lodge of Massachusetts for 1870, p. 357, and 1891, p. 32, and the *Builder* for May, 1915, p. 111.

Rider repeats that in the year 1870 Gould at the request of the Secretary of the Grand Lodge of Massachusetts gave the following information about the document which he claimed to have in his possession, "The yr.—— (day and month obliterated) 1656, or 8 (not certain, as the place was stained and broken; the three first figures are plain), Wee mett at ye House off Mordecai Campannall, and after Synagog, We gave Abm Moses the degrees of Maconerie." (See Gould's Letter, *Proceedings*, Grand Lodge, Mass., 1870, pp. 358-360.)

Among the comments of Rider upon the Gould description of the mysterious and missing document he points out that there is neither date, place, signatures, or number of Masonic degrees mentioned, there is no reference to Newport, nor does it say that the Jews came from Holland.

The author's respects were also paid to the Rev. Edward Peterson whose *History of Rhode Island and Newport in the Past* has on page 101 a reference to the old document. Rider makes some grave charges against the character of Peterson and refers the reader to a pamphlet, No. 16, Box 243, of the Rider Collection at Brown University, Providence, R. I., for particulars. He also states that of Peterson's *History* "as a work of historical authority, it is without recognition," and he omits not to say that "Mr. N. H. Gould was a tailor with a shop at Newport, unknown as a historical scholar" and "so far as Free Masonry is concerned, Gould's story is worthless. It was conceived in iniquity and born in sin."

Oppenheim submitted a rejoinder which was published in the magazine, *Menorah*, August, 1905. His article deals with the *Jews of Newport in History* and the tenor of it is indicated by the subtitle, "How History is Distorted by a Professed Rhode Island Historian." He shows from an investigation of city records that by a transfer of real estate the name Campannall is to be found in evidence at Newport, near the close of the 17th century. The position of Gould as a Freemason of official standing, Master of a Lodge, is held to be sufficient to give weight to what he claims and the reports regarding the other particulars are deemed by Oppenheim to have the force of utterance by those having the confidence of the community.

Nevertheless, the document is missing and for the reasons already given the assertions formerly based upon its presumed

existence are now much weakened if not destroyed by its continued absence. If found, there are as has been shown heavy arguments against the scope of the claims once built on its very limited record.

Freemasonry in America Prior to 1750, the able showing of Masonic facts by the then Grand Master of Massachusetts, Melvin M. Johnson, tells us that in 1705 "Brother Jonathan Belcher who had been made a Mason in England in 1704 returned to his post at Boston as Governor of the Colony of Massachusetts Bay. He thus is the first Freemason known to be in the Western Hemisphere. We may therefore properly call him the Senior Freemason of America."¹ Bro. Johnson here refers to the reply to an address presented in 1741 by the "Mother Lodge of New England" when the Hon. J. Belcher, formerly Governor, declared "It is now thirty-seven years since I was admitted into the Ancient and Hon^{ble} Society of Free and Accepted Masons."²

Intercourse of the English colonies with the mother country was continuous. Considering the condition of navigation, conducted entirely by sailing-vessels, trading and other communications were frequent. The colonists brought with them, in their immigration to the new country, the language, the laws, and the customs of their ancestors. Personal and political relations existing between the people on either side of the Atlantic were very intimate. The wide ocean formed no sufficient barrier to the introduction among the Americans of new discoveries and inventions, of new styles of living or of new trains of thought, which springing up in England were in a brief course of time brought over by visitors or by new settlers to the growing Colonies.

We can not doubt, in view of the above facts, that very soon after the establishment of Speculative Freemasonry in London, by the organization of a Grand Lodge in 1717, persons who had been initiated in the London Lodges came over to America. In that case they must have brought with them the principles of the new system as that ritual was just beginning to be taught at its English home.

On this point we do not lack proof. At whatever precise date we may place the regular establishment of the first Lodge in

¹ See "Abstract, Proceedings of the Grand Lodge of Massachusetts," 1916, p. 327.

² "Proceedings," Grand Lodge of Massachusetts, 1733-1792, p. 389.

America, it is very certain, from the testimony of authentic public documents, that there was no lack of Freemasons in America not very long after the establishment of the system in England and prior to the known Masonically legal organization of any Lodge in the country.

Of course, it is understood that many of these Freemasons had been initiated in England, either while on a temporary visit to that country, if they were residents of the Colonies, or, if they were recent immigrants, then before they left their old home for the new one.

The above presumption seems very probable. Nothing could be more natural than that a colonist going "home," as England was affectionately styled, should have availed himself of the opportunity afforded by his visit, to unite with a Society enticing by its mystic character and its great popularity. Among the emigrants who were daily crossing the ocean, to make their homes in the new country, there should have been many who were members of that Society.

The question is seldom discussed but we may with profit examine the possibility of Masonic initiations taking place in advance of regular authority. We may ask whether some persons had not been initiated in America before any Deputation had been issued by a Grand Master of England for the organization of a regular Lodge, under the Constitutions adopted at London in 1723.

This is a very interesting question, and the fact that it is a somewhat novel one makes it still more worth while as a problem for examination.

We may preface the investigation into which we are about to enter, by saying that whether the fact be proved or not, its occurrence is by no means impossible.

The reader has been shown that Lodges were established in France as early as 1721, eleven years before the constitution of a regular Lodge by the Grand Lodge at London. We have already said that these Lodges were organized without a Warrant by certain Freemasons from England who had exercised the ancient privilege of the Operatives to open Lodges and make Freemasons without a Dispensation or Charter whenever a competent number were present. This privilege had been given up in 1717 by

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the four London Lodges to the newly erected Grand Lodge, but it was for some time after that date occasionally asserted. Such was the case in France. May it not also have been claimed and exercised in America?

The first Deputation granted from England for the Colonies was issued by the Duke of Norfolk to Daniel Coxe, Esq., of New Jersey. The date of this Deputation is June 5, 1730. It appointed him Provincial Grand Master of New York, New Jersey, and Pennsylvania, and empowered him to constitute Lodges.¹

Indisputable evidence of the original Deputation is still preserved in the Archives of the Grand Lodge of England, as well as in the printed List of Deputations published by Anderson in the second edition of the *Book of Constitutions*, and there are many other clear and conclusive proofs that the Deputation was granted to Coxe in June, 1730. But there is not the slightest testimony of any kind, even traditional, that similar official Deputation can have been previously issued to any person residing in the American Colonies.

The proof seems satisfactory that previous to the latter half of the year 1730² there was no legal authority in the Colonies to constitute Lodges according to the English regulation of 1721.

If there were any Lodges in the Colonies before that date, they must have been Lodges which derived their authority for meeting from the old Operative usage, that a sufficient number of Masons met together were empowered to make Masons and to practice the rites of Masonry without a Warrant of Constitution.

But there are proofs that one or more Lodges were in existence in Philadelphia before Coxe could use the Deputation granted to him by the Duke of Norfolk.

The first of these proofs is furnished by the celebrated Dr. Benjamin Franklin, who was in 1730 the Printer and also the Editor of a paper published in Philadelphia with the title of the *Pennsylvania Gazette*. In No. 108 of that paper, published on December 8, 1730, is the following article: "As there are several

¹ See pages 123-125, "The Minutes of the Grand Lodge of Freemasons of England, 1723-1739," edited by W. J. Songhurst, and published by the Quatuor Coronati Lodge, London, 1913, for copy of the Deputation. In the old records the name is spelled "Coxe" and "Cox."

² The Deputation issued at London, June 5, 1730, allowing for probable delays and the passage across the ocean at that time, could hardly have reached America before the end of August or more probably September in the same year.

Lodges of FREE MASONS erected in this Province, and people have lately been much amused with conjectures concerning them, we think the following account of Free Masonry, from London, will not be unacceptable to our readers."

Coxe's Deputation was only issued in June of that year. Two or three months was necessary for it to pass from the Grand Secretary's office in London to America. Between the time of his receiving it and the publication of the article just cited from Franklin's *Gazette*, the interval would be hardly long enough to enable Coxe to organize and constitute *several Lodges*.¹

Yet Franklin says (and he was neither a truthless nor a careless writer) that there were *several Lodges* at that time in the Province of Pennsylvania. Where did the Lodges come from? Probably these Lodges were like the first Lodges in France, formed by what the Freemasons had been taught was their prescriptive right, and who, without a Warrant, had before the coming of the Deputation assembled in competent numbers and practiced the rites of the Craft.

"Franklin, however, fails to give us any information as to when any of these early Lodges were established. The finding of a copy of 'The Constitutions of St. John's Lodge' written by Bro. Thomas Carmick and dated 1727 undoubtedly proves that St. John's Lodge was established several years prior to the date of Franklin's first notice in the *Gazette*."²

A letter written in 1754 by Henry Bell, then residing in the town of Lancaster (Pennsylvania), to Dr. Thomas Cadwallader of Philadelphia, makes the positive statement that from his own knowledge and part in the circumstance that there actually was in 1730, perhaps before, at least one Lodge formed by prescriptive right without a Warrant.

Bro. Bell's letter, we are told, was exhibited in the office of the Grand Secretary of the Grand Lodge of Pennsylvania in the

¹ Bro. Coxe was a visitor to the Grand Lodge at London, Jan. 29, 1731, where he was greeted as "Provincial Grand Master of North America," see "Minutes," in vol. x, "Quatuor Coronatorum Antigrapha," London, 1913. His presence in England must be considered in estimating the amount of time he had for personal Masonic activity in America from June to January.

² "Freemasonry in Pennsylvania, 1727-1907," by Norris S. Barratt and Julius F. Sachse, 1908, Philadelphia, p. 2. Bro. Sachse, an accomplished photographer as well as Masonic student, made a facsimile reproduction of the Carmick MS., which was also published at Philadelphia in 1908 and discussed at a meeting of the Quatuor Coronati Lodge, London, by W. J. Hughan. See vol. xxii, part 2, p. 95, "Ars Quatuor Coronatorum."

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year 1872. A copy of it said to be made at that time was published in the *Early History and Constitutions of the Grand Lodge* and is as follows:

"As you well know, I was one of the originators of the first Masonic Lodge in Philadelphia. A party of us used to meet at the Tun Tavern, in Water street, and sometimes *opened a Lodge* there. Once in the fall of 1730 we formed a design of obtaining a Charter for a regular Lodge, and made application to the Grand Lodge of England for one, but before receiving it, we heard that Daniel Coxe of New Jersey had been appointed by that Grand Lodge as Provincial Grand Master of New York, New Jersey, and Pennsylvania. We therefore made application to him, and our request was granted."

Unfortunately the original of the letter has disappeared, a loss that led Bro. W. J. Hughan to say that "Until this letter has been produced and duly examined and accepted, its genuineness must remain undecided."¹

Bro. Clifford P. MacCalla, who has been a studious and successful explorer of old documents connected with the early history of Freemasonry in Pennsylvania, published in his valuable paper, the *Key Stone* (December 22, 1877), an interesting letter to show that there were Freemasons in Philadelphia one year at least before the severance of the Speculative from the Operative element, and the organization of the Grand Lodge at London.

This letter is dated "March 10, 1715,"² and was written by John Moore, the King's Collector at the port of Philadelphia, and addressed to James Sandilands, Esq., of Chester, Penn., communicating the fact that he had received from England a bell and some altar furniture, intended for a church at Chester, and requesting to know how they were to be delivered. This business matter having been dismissed, the letter concludes with the following remarkable passage:

¹ "Transactions," *Quatuor Coronati Lodge*, p. 97, vol. xxii, part 2, 1909.

² Although the double reference, as 1715-16, was generally affixed to dates in the first three months of the year, to indicate the old and the new styles, it is probable that by "March 10, 1715," the writer meant what we should write as "March 10, 1716." Bro. MacCalla states that at the time of publication the letter was in the possession of Bro. Horace W. Smith, the great-grandson of the Rev. Dr. William Smith, the Secretary of the Grand Lodge of Pennsylvania; the grandson of Bro. William Moore Smith, Grand Master of Pennsylvania, and the son of Richard Penn Smith of Lodge No. 72 in Philadelphia, and that the granddaughter of John Moore, the writer of the letter, intermarried with the Rev. Dr. Smith, the great-grandfather of its then owner.

"Ye winter has been very long and dull, and we have had no mirth or pleasure except a few evenings spent in festivity with my Masonic Brethren."

Rev. Bro. Montague of Dedham, Mass., about 1826 showed to R.W. Charles W. Moore, then Editor of the *Masonic Mirror*, evidence that a Lodge had met in King's Chapel, Boston, 1720. Unfortunately, Bro. Moore did not say where the original evidence is to be found.

For the above item we are indebted to the industry of P.G.M. Melvin M. Johnson of Massachusetts.¹ He also shows that at least ten of those who on July 30, 1733, applied to Henry Price for the Constitution of the First Lodge were "made here," a significant expression for the petitioners to use. Brother Johnson mentions the sailing of the ship "Freemason" as reported in the *Boston News Letter*, Jan. 5, 1718-9, and on two other dates; and that on August 29, 1720, the *Boston Gazette* has an account of the accidental death of a young man of Charlestown, the Town Clerk and Treasurer, who the newspaper says was "a person of exemplary piety, and industry, a *Widow's Only Son*." Bro. Johnson is of opinion that this item shows that the writer of it "was a Mason and intended thereby to inform all Brethren who should read the *Gazette* that Benjamin Dowse was a member of the Craft."

Without a doubt, in America, as in England and in Scotland, there were Freemasons, who lived under the old partly Operative and partly Speculative rules before what has been called the "Revival," which took place in London in 1717.

In England and Scotland we know that these Freemasons were united in Lodges, working without the sanction of a Warrant of Constitution, which was a regulation adopted at the Revival. They were organized by that old prescriptive right by which a competent number of Freemasons were always authorized to assemble and perform the rites of the Craft.

There is no reason why, if there were a sufficient number of Freemasons then living in Philadelphia or in Boston or elsewhere, they should not have followed the custom which prevailed "at home," and for better regularity and discipline in their meetings have formed themselves into a Lodge.

¹ "Abstract, Proceedings," Mass., Sept. 13, 1916.

In 1736 the brethren of Portsmouth in New Hampshire applied to Henry Price¹ for a Charter. The petition is at least singular in its phraseology. It is subscribed by "persons of the holy and exquisite Lodge of St. John," as if there were already a Lodge existing under that title, and in asking for a "Deputation and power to hold a Lodge according to order as is and has been granted to faithful Brothers in all parts of the World," they say, "we have our Constitutions, both in print and manuscript, as good and as ancient as any that England can afford."²

Now, this may mean either that the Portsmouth brethren were in possession of rituals and other necessary books to use in forming a Lodge; or it may mean that they had been working as a Lodge by prescriptive right and now wanted to be regularized under the new system which Price had received from England.

The Colonies into which Freemasonry under the new system of the Revival was first introduced were Pennsylvania, Massachusetts, South Carolina, and Georgia.

Bro. Wm. G. Mazyck contributed to the *Builder*, March, 1916, a paragraph from the "South Carolina Gazette, Number 144, from Saturday, October 23, to Saturday, October 30, 1736," p. 2, column 2:

"Last night a Lodge of the Ancient and Honourable Society of Free and Accepted Masons was held for the first Time at Mr. Charles Shepheard's in Broad Street, when John Hammerton,³ Esqr., Secretary and Receiver General for this Province, was unanimously chosen Master, who was pleased to appoint Mr. Thomas Denne senior Warden, Mr. Theo Harbin, junior Warden, and Mr. James Gordon, Secretary."

Another noteworthy quotation is given in the same issue of the *Builder* by Bro. Mazyck. This extract he credits to the

¹ Viscount Montague, Grand Master of England, constituted Henry Price as Provincial Grand Master on April 18, 1733. See "Proceedings," Grand Lodge, Massachusetts, Sept. 18, 1916, p. 343.

² See the petition in Bro. Gardiner's able report in the "Transactions of the Grand Lodge of Massachusetts," 1871, p. 307.

³ John Hammerton, of the Lodge at the Horn Tavern in Westminster, London, is recorded in the "Minutes," as one of the Stewards when the Grand Lodge of England met on December 15th, 1730. At the meeting on April 6th, 1738, the name is listed as that of the Past Grand Master of South Carolina and it reappears with the same rank and title at the session of January 31st, 1738. See pp. 137, 295 and 306, "Minutes," Grand Lodge of Freemasons of England, 1723-1739, published 1913 by Quatuor Coronati Lodge, London. Several references are given in "Proceedings," Mass., 1916, p. 387, to show that in 1736 John Hammerton received a Deputation from the Earl of Loudoun to act as Provincial Grand Master for South Carolina.

"*South Carolina Gazette*, No. 174, from Saturday, May 21st, to Saturday, May 28th, 1737," p. 3, column 1:

"CHARLESTOWN, MAY 28, On Thursday Night last the Recruiting Officer was acted for the Entertainment of the ancient and honourable Society of Free and Accepted MASONS, who came to the Play House about 7 o'Clock, in the usual Manner, and made a very decent and solemn Appearance; there was a fuller House on this Occasion than ever had been known in this Place before. A proper Prologue and Eplogue were spoke, and the entered Apprentices and Masters Songs sung upon the Stage, which were joined in Chorus by the Masons in the Pit, to the Satisfaction and Entertainment of the whole Audience. After the Play, the Masons return'd to the Lodge at Mr. Shepheard's, in the same order observed in coming to the Play House."

Attention is directed by Bro. Mazyck to the "usual Manner" of the brethren in coming and going and he suggests that this allusion indicates that therefore even this was not the first occasion of a public procession of the Craft in Charlestown.

In Georgia regular Freemasonry under the Grand Lodge of 1717 was introduced in 1736 when Solomon's Lodge at Savannah was opened under sanction of a Warrant from Lord Weymouth. But the late Bro. W. S. Rockwell, in his *Ahiman Rezon of Georgia*, published in 1859, says that "many still living in Savannah have heard from older Brethren who have passed to that 'undiscovered country from whose bourne no traveller returns,' that a Lodge was at work in that city before Solomon's Lodge No. 1 had an existence."¹ If there were any such Lodge, it must have been one which worked under the "prescriptive right" or "immemorial usage" of the olden time.

The Deputy Grand Master, Thomas Batson, informed the members of the Grand Lodge of Freemasons of England, at a Communication held on December 13, 1733, that measures had been taken "to collect the Charity of this Society towards enabling the trustees to send distressed Brethren to Georgia where they may be comfortably provided for." A later reference in the *Minutes* shows that the subject was kept alive and officially encouraged.²

¹ Rockwell, "Ahiman Rezon of Georgia," 1859, 4th edition, p. 323.

² See "Minutes," Grand Lodge of England, pp. 235 and 238, vol. x, 1913, published by Quatuor Coronati Lodge, London.

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A fair presumption is that this Masonic interest resulted in the Craft soon being in evidence in the new Colony and that groups of Brethren would assemble there in an informal way even if the more formal erection of a Lodge was not indeed entered upon without delay. But of this we have now nothing further than the suggestions of Bro. Rockwell.

In Pennsylvania we have already seen that at least one such Lodge was in existence in 1730 before Coxe had received his authority as Provincial Grand Master.

Notwithstanding this deficiency of positive evidence, does not all this show that there were Lodges of this character in various parts of the Colonies long before the issuing of Warrants by the London Grand Lodge? That is to say, we have a right to suppose that Freemasonry was first established in this country by the voluntary association of a certain number of Freemasons meeting together without the sanction of a Warrant. This was the rule in England previous to the year 1717, when this right of meeting by what was termed "immemorial usage" was surrendered to the Grand Lodge by the four Lodges in London.

But the right and the practice were not at once abandoned everywhere. Some Lodges in the rural districts of England continued to act without Warrants for a few years, and Lodges under the old privileges were established in France, apparently by the Jacobites or friends of the House of Stuart.

There is no reason therefore to doubt that the same custom prevailed to some extent in the American Colonies. During the constant intercourse maintained between the Mother Country and its Colonies, many Freemasons would frequently go to them, either as visitors, as emigrants, or as officers of the parent government.

The Freemasonry that they brought with them they would naturally desire to practice in the new country into which they had come. Hence it is probable that they voluntarily associated in Lodges and practiced the rites of the Institution in various parts of the Colonies.

The negative evidence that there are no minutes or records extant of the meetings of such Lodges is of the least value. It is not certain that they kept any records, or if they did, it is natural that in the lapse of time and with the intervention of so many stirring events, these records may have been lost. There are very

few Lodges of any antiquity now existing in this country whose earliest records have been preserved. Absence of records is no proof that such unwarranted Lodges did not exist at an early period in this country.

We can not doubt that the Masonic spirit prevailing in England in the early part of the 18th century, and which led in 1717 to the establishment of a Speculative Grand Lodge in London, was carried into the remotest part of the British Empire by emigrants and settlers in the Colonies who preserved in their new homes the manners and customs, the habits and associations, which had distinguished them in their old one.

Now as Lodges existed in London and other parts of England and had long existed, organized under the old law of the Craft which authorized the congregation of Freemasons for Masonic purposes, without the sanction of a Warrant, we may reasonably suppose that the Brethren coming from England into the Colonies, some of whom had probably been members of such Lodges at home, would continue the custom in the new country into which they had come and there institute similar Lodges. At first the Brethren may have met together for the sole purpose of preserving their Masonic recollections and of renewing the pleasures of their Masonic reunions at home.

While these Craftsmen may have been content to meet together without proceeding to make initiations, there was no law in the early years of the Colonies to prevent their doing so, and we see no reason why they should not have proceeded to secure the prosperity of the Institution by an increase of its numbers.

Hence, we think that Lodges existed in the Colonies long before the granting of a Deputation to Coxe. There are no Minutes now extant of the meetings of any such Lodges, but this was not to be expected.

Why should not there have been Lodges thus voluntarily formed, in Massachusetts before the Deputation of Price, in Pennsylvania before the official activity of Franklin, in South Carolina before that of Hammerton, or in Georgia before that of Lacy?

To say that there are no records of any such Lodges is no answer to the question. The early records of Freemasonry everywhere have been too poorly kept and too ill preserved to author-

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ize us to found any argument on their absence. Horace wisely tells us that many heroes perished before Agamemnon, unwept and unsung, because there was no poet to record their deeds.

The conclusion at which we arrive by this course of reasoning is, then, that Freemasonry was introduced into the Colonies of North America at a very early period in the 18th century, by means of officers of the parent government, or emigrants intending to be future permanent residents.

These Freemasons soon established Lodges in various places, which they worked without the sanction of Warrants, and under the regulation which existed in England at the time when they left it. At this period Warrants were unknown. Lodges met whenever and wherever a competent number of Brethren thought proper to establish one.

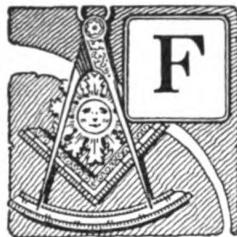
Thus the love of Freemasonry was preserved in these distant regions, and when at length the new system of warranting Lodges approved in 1717 by the four old Lodges in London began to be understood and Deputations for Provincial Grand Lodges and Provincial Grand Masterships were sent over from the parent country, these primitive Lodges and their members took out Warrants which regularized them.

They had performed their mission. They had introduced Freemasonry into America. They had fostered it, with the best of their feeble means. They had planted the seed, and the nursing of the plant and the gathering of the crop they were willing should be left to those who came after them.

The new system brought by the various Deputations resulted in the introduction of the regulations adopted by the English Grand Lodge. Provincial Grand Lodges were organized and no Lodge was instituted except under the sanction of a Warrant. From this time Freemasonry in the Colonies begins to be purely historical, and in that light its early history is now to be considered.

CHAPTER NINETY-ONE

THE EARLY GRAND LODGE WARRANTS



ROM what has been said in the immediately preceding chapter it appears that we may fairly divide the narrative of the introduction of Freemasonry into the Colonies of North America into two distinct eras or stages of time. These, in imitation of the archaeologists, we might almost call the pre-historic and the post-historic periods of American Speculative Freemasonry. Let us assume that the pre-historic era embraces that period of time which is included between the first immigration of settlers from Britain into the Colonies and the granting of the first Deputation for a Provincial Grand Lodge. More strictly, it would be confined to the first thirty years of the 18th century.

Freemasonry was not, we think, in a condition, before the opening of the 18th century, to inspire its disciples with an enthusiasm which would lead to the spreading abroad of the Order and the establishment of Lodges in a new country.

Under the slow but persevering efforts of Speculative members of the Operative Lodges, Freemasonry was then gradually assuming a new character. The old Operative element was beginning to die off. Finally, it "gave up the ghost" about the year 1723, when the purely Speculative became not only the controlling but actually the sole element of the Institution.

While this transition was going on, many Freemasons who were initiated under the old system before 1717, and under the new one after that date, emigrated to the American Colonies. These pioneers carried with them their attachment for the Institution which they had acquired at home.

If any Lodges were thus established before 1717, the act must have been a spontaneous one having no other regard to any control or authority than that of the Lodge members under the Brethren.

ren's understanding of the usage, which is described by Preston,¹ by which a competent number of Masons were permitted to assemble for Masonic work without the sanction of a Warrant of Constitution, a document which was unknown to the Craft until after the adoption of a special regulation in 1717.

After that year it is true that every regular Lodge was required to be sanctioned and authorized by a Warrant from the Grand Lodge. This regulation, which ought rather to be called a compromise between the four old Lodges and the new Grand Lodge, was generally obeyed in London, where we have no evidence that any Lodges were formed after 1717 without the sanction of a Warrant of Constitution.

But such was not the case at that early period in other countries where the principles of English Speculative Freemasonry were carried by immigrants. We know that English Lodges were formed in France before 1712 in the old way, which had now become an irregular manner.

A Lodge to be called "regular" would today be a constitutional number of Freemasons duly congregated, having the Holy Bible, square and compasses, and in legal possession of a Charter or dispensation issued by some grand body of competent jurisdiction empowering these Brethren to work. But in dealing with their early days of the Craft and especially with the period preceding Grand Lodge formation in any country we must expect to find Lodges not strictly within the limits of the above definition and yet they were as fully Masonic as the members with the means at hand could make them.

Masonic government was not then so perfected, nor the laws sufficiently uniform or so generally understood and accepted, for us in this day and generation to apply modern regulations rigidly in determining the "regularity" of the early Lodges. "Regular" has been used to mean a Lodge duly constituted by the authority of a Grand Lodge and an "Irregular" Lodge would similarly be

¹ "Illustrations of Masonry," footnote to Section VI, p. 75, 1812, says "The mode of applying by petition to the Grand Master for a Warrant to meet as a regular Lodge, commenced only in the year 1718; previous to that time, Lodges were empowered, by inherent privileges vested in the Fraternity at large, to meet and act occasionally under the direction of some able architect, and the acting magistrate of the country; and the proceedings being approved by the majority of the brethren convened at another Lodge assembled in the same district, were deemed constitutional." But the reader must not thereby assume that in the American Colonies the Lodges were always erected in pairs, the one to approve the labors of the other. Of this condition we have no evidence.

one not so constituted. If we bear in mind that distinction we are the better prepared to consider a letter to us from Bro. W. J. Hughan, where he says:

"Let me say that the 'St. John's,' Boston, A.D. 1733, was the first regular Masonic Lodge in North America. There were before then several Lodges assembling in Philadelphia, and evidently elsewhere by 'time immemorial' usage, and these had as good a right to meet Masonically as any other organization. Everywhere, however, outside the pale of regular Grand Lodge Masonry, and unless such Brethren joined under the new regime, they were accounted irregular.

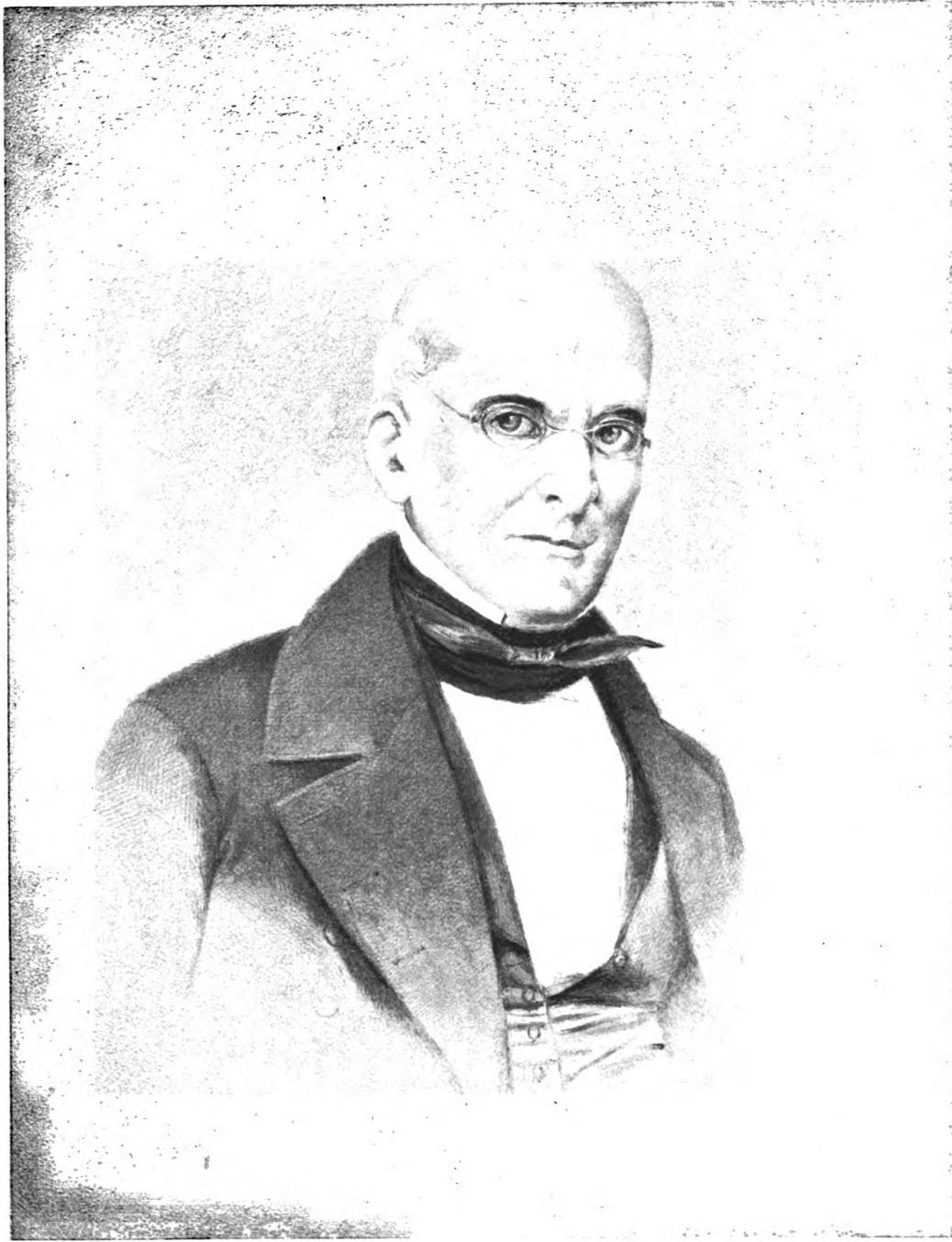
"Strange to say, the 'Modern' Grand Lodge of England — the premier of the world — never had a Pennsylvania Lodge on its register. I once thought that a Lodge assembling in Philadelphia, Penn. (1730, etc.), had been granted by its constitutional authority, but there is not sufficient evidence to warrant the conclusion. There were regular 'Antient' Warrants issued for Philadelphia during the 6th decade of the 18th century and a Provincial Grand Lodge formed.

"As a matter of fact, singular as it reads, the Lodge of 1730, and subsequent Lodges of the kind, were never recognized as of English origin, though a Provincial Grand Master was appointed by the 'Moderna' for the 'Keystone State' in 1730, etc. This was done, though there was not a Lodge on its English register from Pennsylvania. An unusual experience assuredly, but not unique as respects some Provincial Grand Masters appointed in England."

Bro. Hughan uses the word "regular" where we would preferably employ another expression. Neither are we alone in this preference. The situation has been critically examined by Bro. Melvin M. Johnson, when Grand Master of Massachusetts, 1916. Discussing *Freemasonry in America Prior to 1750*, Bro. Johnson says, p. 326, *Proceedings of the Grand Lodge of Massachusetts*, in reference to this question of regularity:

"These occasional Lodges meeting according to the old customs, were never 'duly constituted' but they were, nevertheless, 'regular' prior to 1721. They were neither 'regular' nor 'duly constituted' after June 24, 1721, unless and until lawfully warranted or chartered. On Saint John the Baptist's Day, in 1721,

J. M. RAGON



the Grand Lodge at London adopted and promulgated the following regulation:

“VIII. No set or number of Brethren shall withdraw or separate themselves from the Lodge in which they were made Brethren, or were afterwards admitted members, unless the Lodge becomes too numerous; nor even then, without a Dispensation from the Grand Master or his Deputy: and when they are thus separated they must either immediately join themselves to such other Lodge as they shall like best, with the unanimous consent of that other Lodge to which they go (as above regulated) or else they must obtain the Grand Master’s Warrant to join in forming a new Lodge. If any set or number of Masons shall take upon themselves to form a Lodge without the Grand Master’s Warrant, the regular Lodges are not to countenance them, nor own them as fair Brethren and duly formed, nor approve of their acts and deeds; but must treat them as rebels, until they humble themselves, as the Grand Master shall in his prudence direct, and until he approve of them by his Warrant, which must be signified to the other Lodges, as the custom is when a new Lodge is to be registered in the list of Lodges.”

“As will be seen hereafter the Brethren in Boston were the first in America to be constituted in accordance with this regulation (July 30, 1733). They thus became the first ‘regular and duly constituted Lodge’ in the Western Hemisphere.”

Robert F. Gould supports this claim to the extent of asserting that “The first Lodge held under written authority was established by Henry Price, Provincial Grand Master of New England, at ‘The Bunch of Grapes’ Tavern, in Boston, on August 31st, 1733.”¹ Nevertheless, on the preceding page of the same chapter, Bro. Gould states, “But there was formerly in existence a still older Lodge at Philadelphia, with records dating from 1731, and which is presumably referred to — December 8th, 1730 — as ‘one of the several Lodges erected in this Province,’ by Benjamin Franklin, in the *Pennsylvania Gazette*. All the evidence points in the direction of this having been an independent or non-tributary Lodge, assembling by inherent right, and acknowledging no higher authority than its own.”

We do not doubt that in the American Colonies in the early days of the adventurous Masonic immigrants, that a Lodge with-

¹ “Concise History of Freemasonry,” p. 414, London, 1903.

out a Warrant was held as a matter of course whenever and wherever a sufficient number of the brethren were so disposed to assemble.

There is an excuse for this, if an excuse be really needed, in the difficulty there was at that time of obtaining a Warrant from England.

We may further consider that the old regulation or custom was set aside only for those Lodges within the "Bills of Mortality," that is to say, in the city of London and its suburbs.

"It admits of little doubt," says Bro. Gould, "that in its inception the Grand Lodge of England was intended merely as a governing body for the Masons of the Metropolis."¹

Hence we find in the Minutes of the Grand Lodge under the date of November 25, 1723, the declaration or agreement, "That no new Lodge *in or near London*,² without it be regularly Constituted, be Countenanced by the Grand Lodge, nor the Master or Wardens admitted to the Grand Lodge."

The earlier records of the Grand Lodge contained in Anderson's second edition show in other places very plain indications that the regulation which required a Warrant of Constitution was not intended to apply to Lodges outside of London.

But the fact is that even in England the regulations were not at that period strictly enforced. "The general laws of Masonry, however," says Dr. Oliver, "were but loosely administered." We can not suppose that a more implicit obedience to them was paid in distant parts of the empire.

The Grand Lodge was too young and too weak to extend the influence of its newly created authority beyond the narrow limits of its domestic territory.

¹ "Four Old Lodges," p. 19, Robert Freke Gould, London, 1879.

² Bro. W. J. Songhurst says "The phrases 'in or near London'; 'within the Bills of Mortality' (p. 56); 'within ten miles of London' (p. 59); etc., should be noted as indicating the admittedly restricted jurisdiction of the Grand Lodge." See p. 54, "Minutes," Grand Lodge of England, published by Quatuor Coronati Lodge, 1913. The "Bills of Mortality" refer to the area covered by the parish reports issued weekly of deaths, an English custom followed from about 1538 up to 1896.

CHAPTER NINETY-TWO

ORIGIN OF THE ROYAL ARCH



E must admit that no event in the history of Speculative Freemasonry has had any more important an influence upon its development as a system of symbolism than the invention of the Royal Arch degree and its introduction into the Masonic ritual.

Limiting the system to three degrees, and these ending in the "Master's part," left the cycle of symbolism in as incomplete a condition as would be a novel with the last chapter unwritten.

The ritual, as it was arranged and presented to the Craft in the beginning of the 18th century, when the Speculative element was wholly separated from the Operative, was an incomplete conception of its inventors, and was marked by the faults, omissions and defects which always belong to the immature.

Accepting the crude ritual, principally intended to embody mere methods of recognition, we may assume that Desaguliers and his co-workers and their successors gradually extended it, first by the development of the one simple degree, which had been common to the whole body of the Craft, into two and finally into three degrees.

The experiment so far was successful. The new methods gave great vitality to an institution which had long faltered. They excited the curiosity and gained the support of many who had hitherto felt no interest in the ruder system of the Operative Lodges. They placed the society upon a much higher plane than that which it formerly occupied before the absolute separation of the two elements of which it was made up.

We may well regret that the experiment of making a ritual so prudently begun and so successful in its results had not been continued, and the Third degree supplemented by a Fourth to

give the series all possible foundation in the symbolic scheme. However, as it stands, the three degrees fulfill in count the peculiar significance that would not be met by an even number in the series.

What was precisely the ritual of the Master's degree as it may have been invented or amended by Desaguliers, Payne, Anderson, and their co-laborers, it is impossible for us to know. The knowledge of facts only transmitted by word of mouth is often lost in the lapse of time; tradition is scarcely ever unchanged; and where there is no written record to guide our inquiries, we necessarily grope in the dark.

The Masonic system of symbolism as now arranged presents us with a triple series of antagonisms, three sets or pairs of opposites — ignorance and knowledge, darkness and light, loss and recovery. With the first and second of these antagonisms, opposites or opponents, we have nothing here to do. It is the last only that interests us at present.

Loss and recovery of a most cherished possession, when it is symbolized by death and resurrection — by the ending of the present and the beginning of the future life — is perfectly represented in the Master's degree. But when it refers to the doctrine of Divine Truth represented by the *Word*, which being lost for a time is at last recovered, the Third degree, as now constructed, and as it probably always was, fails completely to carry out the symbolism.

Everyone who has devoted full attention to the study of the ritual of Speculative Freemasonry must admit that the *Word* is the central point around which the whole system of Masonic symbolism revolves. Its possession is the climax of all Masonic knowledge; when lost, its recovery is the sole object of all symbolic labor in Freemasonry.

These are not mere truisms, only self-evident truths, having but a general bearing upon the subject of symbolism; they are important axioms, accepted propositions or principles, indispensably connected with the history of the origin of the Royal Arch degree, and with the first cause of its invention.

Even in the time of pure, unadulterated Operative Freemasonry, the *Word* was an important secret of the Institution. The German Stonemasons had, at a very early period, a word, sign,

and grip. In the 17th century, if not before, the Operative Craftsmen of Scotland attached much importance to the secrets of the *Mason Word*. Therefore, by analogy, we may infer that the English Operative Masons were also in possession of it, though no reference is made to it in the *Old Constitutions* or in the *Legend of the Craft*.

Whether this was or was not the same *Word* as that which afterward became the germ or root of the Royal Arch degree, it is impossible to determine. Probably it was not. The *Word* given in the Catechism of the German Steinmetzen, which is to be found in Findel and that contained in the Catechism of the Sloane manuscript, are different from each other and neither of them is the *Word* now used. There may, however, have been another *Word*, communicated only to a select few, which for obvious reasons has not been mentioned in either of these records. But this is merely supposition and is hardly probable.

Surely, the *Word*, as we now have it, is indicative of a more elevated character of religious symbolism to which the purely Operative Freemasons never apparently attained.

On the other hand, it can not be denied that the Freemasons of the Middle Ages indulged to a great extent in a species of religious symbolism. Christian iconography, religious imagery shown by carved stone or paintings, abounds in their architectural decorations, among which we find the triangle in various styles.

Of course the question is by no means settled by the silence of the old Catechisms on the subject. Happily, its settlement is not a matter of vital importance in the discussion of the Origin of the Royal Arch degree. Its decision would only determine whether the makers of the further degrees of which the Royal Arch was the earliest were the original inventors of the *Word*, or only the followers of the older Freemasons and the revivers of their ideas.

For the present leaving the settlement of this question, let us pursue our historical investigations of the origin and growth of the Royal Arch degree.

Many eminent Masonic students have held that the original Third or Master's degree of Desaguliers' day, which, with some changes made from time to time, continued to be recognized by the "Modern" Grand Lodge of England until the Union in 1813, contained the true Master's or Royal Arch *Word*.

Dr. Oliver has furnished a proof that the *True Word* was used in the original ritual of the Third degree, as practiced from 1723 onward. In his *Origin of the English Royal Arch*, he makes the following statement:

"I have now before me an old Master Mason's tracing-board or floor-cloth, which was published on the Continent almost immediately after symbolical Masonry had been received in France as a branch from the Grand Lodge of England in 1725, which furnished the French Masons with a written copy of the lectures then in use; and it contains the true Master's *Word* in a very prominent situation."¹

We cannot deny that his deductions from this circumstance are reasonable. He goes on to say:

"This forms an important link in the chain of presumptive evidence, that the *Word*, at that time, had not been dissevered from the Third degree and transferred to another. If this be true, as there is every reason to believe, the alteration must have been effected by some extraordinary innovation and change of landmarks. And I am persuaded, for reasons which will be speedily given, that the Antients are chargeable with originating these innovations, for the division of the Third degree and the fabrication of the English Royal Arch appear, on their own showing, to have been their work."

A-further proof of the fact that the true *Word* was contained in the original Third degree may be found in Wilkenson's edition of the *Book of Constitutions*. That work was published at Dublin in 1769 and in front of the first page is a tracing-board, claimed to represent "A Lodge fitted up for the reception of the most respectable Master." Among the emblems shown are the hillock, the sprig of Acacia and the coffin surrounded by the heraldic *guttes de larmes*, or drops of tears, symbolic of grief, all of which refer to the Hiramic Legend of the Master's degree, while, in a prominent place, is the true Master's *Word*.

Dr. Oliver says elsewhere that the "Royal Arch *Word* was anciently the true *Word* of the Third degree,"² and he refers to

¹ "Origin of the Royal Arch," p. 20.

² "Discrepancies of Freemasonry," p. 75. In this work, published after his death, Dr. Oliver has evidently made the persons of his interesting dialogues merely the means for communicating his own opinions.

a French writer of 1745 as stating that "the Master's *Word* was originally . . . but that it was changed after the death of Adoniram."

Probably the writer he mentions is Guillemain de St. Victor, who, however, published the first edition of his *Recueil Precieux de la Maçonnerie Adonhiramite*, not in 1745, but in 1781. Guillemain gives a *Word* in full. This *Word* would be significant to any Royal Arch Mason. Engraved upon a triangular plate of gold, placed on the tomb of Hiram, it was, he says, "*l'ancien mot de maître* (the old word of the Master)." ¹

What Guillemain knew of the Third degree had for its basis the primitive ritual of the "Modern" Grand Lodge of England. This had passed over to France and been adopted on the Continent long before that Grand Lodge made the changes so much objected to by the Brethren of 1740. His authority may therefore be accepted as some proof of Oliver's statement that the Third degree originally contained the *True Word*.

We may admit that the Master's *Word* was known to the framers of the ritual of that degree, as it was arranged soon after the organization of 1717, and was communicated in the last part of the degree. But it will not follow therefore that there was anything more than a mere communication of it, without comment or explanation.

The teachings of the ritual must have shown that something more was needed. Otherwise, why should there have been a secession of a part of the Craft, who sought professedly to correct the defect by adding a Fourth degree.

The loss and the recovery of the *Word* form the foundation on which the entire system of Masonic symbolism is built. Without these important points, Speculative Freemasonry as "a science of morality, veiled in allegory and illustrated by symbols" would be a total failure. As a moral and social institution teaching the practice of virtue and cultivating the principle of brotherhood, it might remain. But it would in no respect differ from hundreds of other societies professing the same objects, which have sprung into being and, lacking the vitality which a deep, religious symbolism has given to Freemasonry, have all passed through only a temporary existence.

¹ "Recueil Precieux de la Maçonnerie Adonhiramite," p. 105, edition of 1787.

Hence the introduction about the middle of the 18th century of a Fourth degree, to supply the deficiency of the original "Master's part," gave an impetus to the institution, which history records in the successful progress of those who adopted the invention.

The interpretation of the loss and the recovery of the *Word*, lies, as has already been said, at the very foundation of all Masonic symbolism.

Now, it is more than probable that the makers of the original Third degree were acquainted with and communicated to their initiates the history of the loss. We know that the Hiramic legend formed an important part of the ritual, and the loss of the *Word* must have been included in the allegory which forms the substance of that legend.

But as the history of the recovery of the *Word* is not included in the legend, it is evident that the original Third degree could have made no reference to it, and the dual symbolism of a loss and a recovery could not have been perfect.

The degree, as originally intended, being founded on the Hiramic legend, gave, of course, a history of the way in which the *Word* was lost. But though afterward it was communicated, as it is said, to a select few, we do not learn from its ritual in what way it was restored to the Craft. There was, therefore, an important defect in the symbolism of the system.

This defect must have at length attracted the attention of students of the ritual who were looking at Speculative Freemasonry as something more than a mere social organization, and who were desirous to lift it to a more elevated plane of intellectuality.

It was on the continent that the disposition to expand the ritual first displayed itself. This disposition in time passed beyond the old limits and gave rise to the many *hauts grades*,¹ which have rather overclouded than purified the atmosphere of Masonic symbolism.

At first, however, the attempt at expansion was conducted with moderation, and was confined to only two points — to supplying the deficiency in the history and symbolism of the *Word*, and to inventing a new account of the origin of the institution.

¹ A French expression meaning "high degrees."

With the latter of these expansions, the present subject has no connection. It is only to the former that we must direct our attention.

The first reform on the original ritual of Desaguliers and his co-workers is usually credited to the noted Chevalier Ramsay. To him we have to turn in tracing the first addition to that ritual which was to crown the Third degree with another, which has since under great modifications been known to English-speaking Freemasons as the Royal Arch.

The Masonic labors of Ramsay entitle him to at least a brief sketch of his life and character.¹

Andrew Michael Ramsay, commonly known as the Chevalier Ramsay, was born at Ayr, in Scotland, 1680 or 1681.² Having completed his education at the University of Edinburgh, where he was distinguished for ability and diligence, he became, in 1709, the tutor of the two sons of the Earl of Wemyss.

Subsequently, he left his native country and retired to Holland. There he became acquainted with Peter Poiret, a learned and philosophical disciple of the celebrated Quietist Antoinette Bourignon.³ Poiret was a prominent teacher of the mystic theology which then prevailed on the continent. To his intimacy with this pious mystic, Ramsay was very probably indebted for that love of mystical speculation which was credited to him by many as the inventor of high degrees in Freemasonry, and as the author of a Masonic rite.

In 1710 Ramsay visited Fénélon, Archbishop of Cambray, became his guest and pupil, and six months afterward a convert to Romanism.⁴ Through the influence of the Archbishop he received the appointment of preceptor to the young Duke de Chateau-Thierry and the Prince de Turenne. As a reward for his services in that capacity he was created a Knight of the Order

¹ See a biography of Ramsay in the Mackey-Hughan-Hawkins' "Encyclopædia of Freemasonry," revised edition, from which the present sketch is condensed.

² The date is somewhat indefinite but Ramsay is reported as saying in the year 1741 that he was 60 years old.

³ Quietism was a religious belief holding that the final state of union with God is reached when the soul is in a state of perfect inaction, and that in this union the soul is purely passive under the action of Divine Light. This conviction influenced Fénélon, later the religious instructor of Ramsay.

⁴ In his "Life of Fénélon," Ramsay gives the full details of the intellectual process and the arguments by which his conversion was effected. See pp. 189-247.

of St. Lazarus, whence he derived the title of "Chevalier," by which he is always designated.¹

Ramsay went to Rome in 1724 and was appointed tutor to the two sons of the titular James III., who, as the son and heir of James II., the exiled King of England, still claimed the throne of his ancestors. He is known in history generally by the more appropriate title of the "Old Pretender."

Ramsay's close connection with the exiled family of Stuart, and with their followers, the Jacobites, may have exerted much influence in the shaping of certain high degrees and in the modified interpretation of certain legends, so as to give a coloring to the curious theory that Speculative Freemasonry was invented or at least used as a political means of promoting the restoration of the House of Stuart to the English throne. Ramsay, himself, is not free from the suspicion of having sown the germs of this theory. He was a firm believer in hereditary right, and being an aristocrat at heart he spurned the idea that Freemasonry could have had an Operative origin.

In the year 1728 he visited England and became an inmate of the family of the Duke of Argyle. While in England the University of Oxford conferred upon him the degree of Doctor of Civil Law, a tolerable evidence of his reputation as a man of letters. He was also admitted a member of the Royal Society of London.

On his return to France he took up his residence at Pontoise, a seat of the Prince of Turenne, and spent the remainder of his life as Intendant in the Prince's family, dying on May 6, 1743.

The literary career of Ramsay was marked by the production of only a few works, but each of these give proofs of his learning and of his skill as a writer. His first work appears to have been *The Life of François de Salignac de la Motte Fénélon, Archbishop and Duke of Cambray*. This was published at London in 1723, and gave rise to a severe criticism by "Britannicus" in several consecutive numbers of the *London Journal* of that year.

In 1727 he published *The Travels*. This work, after the style of Fénélon's *Télémaque*, was enriched by a learned "Discourse on the Theology and Mythology of the Persians." The book was

¹ The Order of St. Lazarus was first instituted in Palestine and the knights were devoted to the care of persons infected. They afterward united with the other Orders in the wars against the Saracens. We may presume that Ramsay's connection with this Order suggested to him the idea of tracing Freemasonry to the Crusades and ascribing its origin to a system of knighthood.

so favorably received as to be speedily translated into the French, the Dutch, the German, and the Danish languages. A much altered and improved edition was subsequently published by the author at Glasgow in Scotland.¹

In the latter years of his life he wrote as a tribute of friendship a *History of the Viscount Turenne*. After his death his greatest work appeared, namely, *The Philosophical Principles of Natural and Revealed Religion, Unfolded in a Geometrical Order*. This work, published in two quarto volumes at Glasgow in 1748, in Dr. Mackey's opinion, "stamps its author not only as a man of varied learning but as a profound metaphysician and an astute logician. Of all the adversaries of Spinoza, none has so adroitly and successfully attacked the errors of that philosopher as Ramsay."

His contributions of published works to the literature of Speculative Freemasonry are still fewer. They consist of only two productions, and the authorship of one of these is only conjectural.

There was published in 1738 at Dublin, Ireland, a work, reprinted at London in 1749, with the title of *Relation apologetique et historique de la Société des Francs-Maçons, par J. G. D. M. F. M.* Kloss styles it a comprehensive and fundamental apology for the Institution of Freemasonry, and credits its authorship without doubt to Ramsay. By order of the Sacred Congregation it was burnt in the following year, at Rome, by the public executioner, for containing "impious propositions and principles," and "the faithful" were prohibited from reading it. This act of literary cremation was the first instance of the impotent persecution of the Order by the Roman Church after the publication of the celebrated Bull *In eminenti* of Pope Clement XII.

When Ramsay was Grand Orator of the Grand Lodge of France, in 1737, he pronounced a discourse before that body. It was first published in 1741 in the *Almanach des Cocus*, under the title of *Discours d'un Grand Maître (Address of a Grand Master)*. Ramsay never attained to that official dignity.

This *Discourse* and the *Apologetic Relation*, conjecturally attributed to him, are the only published writings of Ramsay on

¹ The copy owned by Dr. Mackey bore the imprint of James Knox, Glasgow, but without a date. Kloss registers several London and Paris editions of the work from 1760 to 1829, but does not mention this Glasgow edition. See his "Bibliography," No. 3936.

Masonic subjects that have come down to us. It is not known indeed that he ever published any others.

But this *Discourse* is of great importance, inasmuch as in it he develops in clear terms his theory of the origin of Freemasonry. It is sufficient here to say that that theory casts aside the idea of its connection with an Operative Art and traces its birth to Palestine and to the time of the Crusaders. He thus gave to Freemasonry not an architectural but a religious and military character which connected it with the Orders of Knighthood.

The influence of this theory on the Masonic mind caused the introduction of Templarism into the system of Freemasonry, a thought that never suggested itself to the original founders of the Society.

But though Ramsay wrote but little on Freemasonry for the public eye, no one during the 18th century has been credited with having exerted a greater influence over Continental Masonry, and that influence, as it will hereafter be seen, is said to have extended, in some degree, even into England.

To him we are said to be indebted (though the value of the debt is questionable) for the invention of the system of Rites, wherein the science of Speculative Freemasonry is expanded by a superstructure of "high degrees," based upon the primitive three.

At that time the Grand Lodge of England recognized and practiced only the three degrees of Apprentice, Fellow-Craft, and Master Mason. The same system was pursued by the Grand Lodge of France.¹

This simple system had no congruity with the theory credited to Ramsay.² It made no reference to the Orders of Chivalry and bore no appearance of a relationship to anything but an Operative Art.

Ramsay, or his followers, therefore, found it necessary to construct a new system, which should bear the evidence not of an Operative, but of a Chivalric origin. If in carrying out these views

¹ La Grande Loge de France ne reconnaissait que les trois grades symboliques; ses Constitutions ne s'étendaient pas au delà. (The Grand Lodge of France recognizes only the three symbolic degrees; her Constitutions extend no further.) Thory, "Fondation de la G. L. de France," p. 15.

² That Ramsay did plan any advanced degrees is not with the information at hand capable of positive proof but such is a belief of several of the older authorities. Ramsay's famous Oration seems to mark the beginning of an era of ritual extension and we find it convenient to use the name of Ramsay as a synonym for those promoting the use of advanced degrees in Freemasonry.

they had rejected the primitive degrees, the new system would have had no pretensions to be a Masonic one. They were unwilling to attempt such a revolution, which would, most probably, have been unsuccessful in its results.

Speculative Freemasonry had by that time become a popular institution — it possessed wealth and influence, and men of rank and learning eagerly sought admission into the society. Ramsay, himself, was undoubtedly attached to it, though his aristocratic tendencies probably induced him to seek for it a more elevated sphere. He must have seen that it furnished, even in what he deemed its imperfect state, a firm foundation on which to erect the “high grades.”

Thus we had a new system, since called a Rite.¹ This example was afterward imitated, but with less moderation as to the number of degrees, by ritualists who flooded Freemasonry with their inventions. But of all the succeeding rites, though some of them extended to nearly a hundred degrees, only one of the original ideas, namely, of perfecting the Master’s part, by the symbolism of a recovery of the *Word*, was carefully preserved.

This first Masonic Rite, since known as “The Rite of Ramsay,” consisted of six degrees, designated as follows:

1. Entered Apprentice.
2. Fellow-Craft.
3. Master Mason.
4. Ecossais or Scottish Master.
5. Novice.
6. Knight of the Temple or Templar.

Rhigellini adds a seventh degree, which he says was the Royal Arch; but we find no evidence elsewhere of this fact, and Rhigellini, we are sorry to say, is worse than useless as a historical authority.² The fifth and sixth of these degrees embodied his ideas of the chivalric or Templar origin of the Institution. Their

¹ General Albert Pike, Sovereign Grand Commander of the Southern Masonic Jurisdiction, Ancient Accepted Scottish Rite, defined the word thus: “A Rite is an aggregation and succession of any number of Degrees given by one or more Bodies, but by the authority of a single supreme Government.” “Origin of the English Rite of Freemasonry,” 1909, Leicester, England, p. 146.

² Rhigellini, “La Maçonnerie, etc.,” tome ii, p. 125. It was a part of the system to ascribe the invention of these degrees to Godfrey of Boulogne, in the days of the Crusaders.

consideration would throw no light upon the investigation of the Royal Arch.

It is the Fourth only in which we are interested — the *Ecossais* — from which it is supposed that the suggestions were derived which gave origin to the invention of the Royal Arch degree in England and to the great Masonic separation which followed.

Ramsay went to England in 1728. How long he remained there is uncertain, but it was long enough to win the favor of the University of Oxford, and to obtain from that body one of its highest literary favors. He had also gained warm friends in that country, among whom may be named the Duke of Argyle, in whose family he resided, and Lord Lansdowne, to whom he dedicated his *Travels of Cyrus*, and of whose "singular friendship" he boasts.

It is not, therefore, improbable that he possessed some influence with the Freemasons of England, among whom it is said he sought to introduce a new ritual.¹ But he failed in his effort to get it adopted. The Grand Lodge was then, as it still is and always has been, extremely conservative in its views.

But though unsuccessful with the Grand Lodge, any development of the Royal Arch might have excited an interest in some of the Fraternity. A method of supplying the allegorical recovery of the lost *Word* awakened them to the fact that this symbolism, so necessary to perfect the circle of Masonic symbology, was wanting in the old system of three degrees as then practiced by the Grand Lodge. Whether this was the invention of Ramsay or due in any way to his suggestion is not assured. But it did follow closely upon the heels of his Oration.

For some years no effort was made to incorporate the new system into the then accepted ritual. But the thought did not die. It continued to grow, and at last was given actual life when, about 1738 or perhaps a few years earlier,² certain of the Brethren began to manipulate the Master's Degree, and to add to the story of the loss of the *Word* the new legend of its recovery.

¹ Il voulut introducerie à Londres, en 1728, un nouveau Rite; mais il échoua dans ce projet. (He wished to introduce at London, in 1728, a new Rite; but he got stranded in this project.) Thory, "Acta Latomorum," tome ii, p. 568.

² The Grand Lodge first officially noticed the "irregular makings" in 1738; but these may have occurred for some time before attention was called to them.

This tampering with the Third Degree was met by the Grand Lodge first with grave censure, and then, as the participants in the scheme continued to be unruly, with their expulsion. This led, as we have already seen, to the schism which divided the Freemasons of England into two parties, distinguished by the titles of the "Modernes" and the "Antients." The latter having organized a Grand Lodge, adopted a new ritual of four degrees, and called the last the Royal Arch.

The claim has been made that Ramsay invented the Royal Arch Degree. He did no such thing. He did not even invent the name. But he may have worked out the symbolism which referred to the recovery of a *Word* once lost and afterward recovered. This constitutes the whole sum and substance of all Royal Arch Masonry, no matter under what name and in what Rite it is found.

We may suppose that he said to his disciples in England, "Your ritual shows you how the *True Word* of a Master was lost, but it does not tell you how it was afterwards restored to the Craft; and in this respect your system is imperfect. The discovery of a lost *Word* constitutes a most important part of the symbolism of Speculative Freemasonry. This symbolism and the legend which refers to it, I offer you as the necessary development and improvement of your system."

His disciples accepted the idea of the symbolism, but they rejected the legend credited to him, and invented one of their own.

Neither the legend of what has been called Dermott's Royal Arch, though he was not its author, nor Dunckerley's, nor that which has been in existence in England certainly since the Union of 1813, has any likeness to that of the old *Ecossais* Degree.

A fair statement would be that Ramsay suggested to the English Masonic mind the symbolism of a *Recovered Word*, for which Speculative Freemasonry was indebted to his inventive genius.

In this guarded sense of the expression it may be permitted to be said, that he introduced the doctrine of the Royal Arch into English Freemasonry; without the suggestive influence of his ideas, Royal Arch Masonry would have been unknown to the Masonic system. This theory has met with opposition.

The late Bro. Charles W. Moore, the learned editor for many years of the *Freemasons Monthly Magazine*, published at Boston, Mass., in an article¹ "On the Origin of Royal Arch Chapters, at Home and Abroad," says, "it is not true that Ramsay had anything to do with the Royal Arch Degree." His argument is as follows:

"Ramsay's system consisted of the three degrees of *Ecossais*, Novice, and Knight Templar only. If he ever invented a Royal Arch Degree, which is very doubtful, no traces of it now remain."²

Bro. Moore allies the doctrine and symbolism of the Royal Arch Degree with the specific name adopted in England. He could find no such title as Royal Arch among the degrees of Ramsay's Rite, and it did not occur to him to look in Ramsay's system for the doctrine of the Royal Arch under another name. Had he done so, he would have found it in the Fourth Degree, or *Ecossais*.

The word *Ecossais*, which may be translated as *Scottish Master* or *Scottish Mason*, was used by the Chevalier Ramsay as the name of a Masonic grade. In French the word signifies Scottish or Scotsman, and is said to have been adopted by Ramsay, because it was a part of his legend, that though the degree, like the rest of Freemasonry, was originally worked out by the Crusaders, it passed over from the Holy Land into Scotland, where at Kilwinning it found for a long period an abiding place, until it spread over Europe.

From this as the original degree sprung up numerous others having the same name and design. That design is to detail the method in which the *Lost Word* was recovered, so that the true symbolism of the *Word* may be preserved.

This symbolism, which gave perfection to that of the hitherto incomplete Third Degree, was so acceptable to the Fraternity everywhere, that in all the later Rites established over the Continent, the *Ecossais* was adopted with certain modifications.

The extent to which this cultivation of *Ecossais*, or the doctrine of the *True Word*, was carried by the ritualists may be shown from the fact that Ragon, in his *Nomenclature* of the degrees, lists no less than eighty-three which bear the name of *Ecossais*.

¹ "Freemasons Monthly Magazine," vol. xii, April, 1853, p. 160.

² "Freemasons Monthly Magazine," p. 163, note.

In every legitimate *Ecossais* degree we meet with these two characteristics: first, there is a communication of the *True Word* which had been lost; and secondly there is a Legend which details the mode by which it was recovered and restored to the Craft. In all these degrees the *Word* is substantially the same; in most of the Continental Rites the Legend has been preserved with but little or no alteration.

The English Freemasons accepted the suggestions as to the necessity of expanding the Third Degree or Master's part. They adopted the *Word* which indeed it is said had always existed in the original ritual of the Third Degree; but they transferred its allusion from the Third to a Fourth Degree; and they wholly rejected the old Legend, making a new one for themselves, for which there is some reason for believing that they were partly indebted to a Talmudic or Rabbinical tradition. They also declined to adopt the old names, and having perhaps no liking for a name which suggested a Scottish origin to the institution, they abandoned the title of *Ecossais* and took that of Royal Arch.

If the details of this narrative and the conclusions drawn from it are correct, then the theory has been established that the Brethren who in 1738 or thereabouts acted independently of the "Modern" Grand Lodge of England, with its three primitive degrees, and organized a Grand Lodge of their own with an additional or Fourth Degree, were indebted to Ramsay or his followers for the innovation.

Having thus considered the origin of English Royal Arch Masonry, we are next to inquire at what time it entered England and was put into the ritual of English Speculative Freemasonry.

Dr. Mackey concluded that there is no authority anywhere to be found which traces the existence of a Royal Arch degree in England before the year 1738. But it is only fair to say that a "Masonic Student" (Rev. A. F. A. Woodford) claimed that the Royal Arch "Degree existed in effect long before Ramsay's time.

. . . We have numismatic evidence of the antiquity of the second part of the Third Degree, coeval with the Operative Lodge of York Masons, certainly in the fifteenth century." He says further in the same article "The whole question of the Royal Arch, in its historical and traditional position, turns in reality on the actual extent of the mutilation or development of the Third

Degree."¹ Bro. W. J. Hughan points out that the numismatic evidence has not been traced and he holds to his contention that the origin of the Degree was about 1740.²

The earliest printed work which makes any reference to the degree is a book entitled *A Serious and Impartial Enquiry into the Cause of the Present Decay of Free-masonry in the Kingdom of Ireland, by Fifield Dassigny, M.D., Dublin, 1744.*³

Bro. Hughan had the good fortune to recognize a copy of this work (then believed to be unique) in 1867, bound up with the *Ahiman Rezon* of 1756 and published some account of it in the *Freemasons Magazine*, December 12, 1868. Bro. Findel had sought in vain for the book in the British Museum and in *Die Bauhütte*, August 8, 1868, he recognizes most gladly the importance of the discovery. The copy found by Bro. Hughan became the property of the Grand Lodge of Iowa in 1882. Another and an almost perfect copy has since been found and is noted in the Library of the Masonic Province of West Yorkshire, and a third copy is in the collection of Masonic works in Newcastle-on-Tyne. Bro. Hughan says that these three copies all lack the frontispiece and only one of them is even otherwise complete. Dr. Mackey claimed that the late Bro. Enoch T. Carson of Cincinnati possessed still another copy which must therefore have been acquired by General Samuel C. Lawrence who at his death bequeathed his fine and very large library of Masonic literature to the Grand Lodge of Massachusetts.

The references by the author of this work to the subject of Royal Arch Masonry, are, viewing the time when they were printed, of great interest, and may throw some light on a contested point of history. They are, therefore, here quoted in full, as follows:

"Now as the landmarks of the constitution of Free-Masonry are universally the same throughout all kingdoms, and are so well fixt that they will not admit of removal, how comes it to pass that some have been led away with ridiculous innovations, an example of which I shall prove by a certain propagator of a false system

¹ "Freemasons Magazine," Dec. 28, 1867.

² "Origin of the English Rite of Freemasonry," Leicester, 1909, p. 80.

³ The book Bro. Hughan republished in his "Memorials of the Masonic Union." A facsimile edition has also been published by Bro. R. Jackson, Leeds, England, 1893.

some few years ago in this city, who imposed upon several worthy men under a pretense of being Master of the Royal Arch, which he asserted he had brought with him from the *City* of York; and that the beauties of the Craft did principally consist in the knowledge of this valuable piece of Masonry. However, he carried on his scheme for several months, and many of the learned and wise were his followers, till at length his fallacious art was discovered by a Brother of probity and wisdom, who had some small time before attained that excellent part of Masonry in *London* and plainly proved that his doctrine was false; whereupon the Brethren justly despised him and ordered him to be excluded from all benefits of the Craft, and altho' some of the fraternity have expressed an uneasiness at this matter being kept a secret from them (since they had already passed thro' the usual degrees of probation) I cannot help being of opinion that they have no right to any such benefit until they make a proper application, and are received with due formality, and as it is an organiz'd body of men who have passed the chair, and given undeniable proofs of their skill in Architecture, it can not be treated with too much reverence, and more especially since the characters of the present members of that particular Lodge are untainted and their behaviour judicious and unexceptionable; so that there can not be the least hinge to hang a doubt on, but that they are most excellent Masons."

As Dassigny's book was published in 1744, the phrase "a few years ago" may be interpreted as applying to about the year 1741, or perhaps even 1740. With this explanation as to time, we may infer several facts from this passage.

In the first place, it appears that an adventurer coming to Dublin to propagate the Royal Arch thought it favorable to his interests to claim that he had brought the degree from the city of York. From this we may infer that it was a belief among the Freemasons of Ireland as well as elsewhere, that there was a Royal Arch organization then existing at York. This is not an absolutely essential inference, because he may have depended for its success on the prestige given to that city in the Masonic mind by the traditional belief that it was the cradle of Freemasonry.

But the inference gains some strength from what Dassigny says in a footnote: "I am informed in that city (York) is held

an assembly of Master Masons under the title of Royal Arch Masons, who as their qualifications and excellencies are superior to others, they receive a larger pay than working Masons."

Here we have the positive statement of a writer of that very time that such a belief was in existence. Whether it was founded in fact or in fiction is another question. Remember the proverb that there is no rumor without some foundation. "Flame," says Plautus, "is very close to smoke."¹

However, Bro. Hughan, whose authority as a Masonic historian demands great respect, says it is doubtful whether an Assembly of Royal Arch Masons ever met in York so early as 1744 for there is no trace of such a degree until many years later in any of the Records preserved.²

But the absence of any records of a Royal Arch Degree among the papers of the Grand Lodge of York, which have been preserved, is not sufficient evidence of the non-existence of that degree between 1740 and 1744. These records may have been among those lost or destroyed. Against this explainable deficiency of evidence by official records, which it is admitted are not complete, we have the testimony of a writer of repute and intelligence who says that there was in his day, 1744, a rumor that the Royal Arch Degree was conferred in York at that time.

The question therefore of this early existence of Royal Arch Masonry in York must still remain in abeyance; nor can it ever be decided, until further testimony is produced. But notwithstanding the high authority of Bro. Hughan, we are disposed to think that in 1744 and a few years before, the Royal Arch Degree was conferred in the city of York.

It does not follow that at that time there was any regular organization connected with the Grand Lodge (which, by the way, was at that time dormant, or of which we have no records) or with the Lodge which was still in existence. The degree was about that time just beginning, even in London, to assume an official shape, and irregularities must have prevailed. Bro. Hughan tells us that the late Bro. William Cowling, an officer of the present York Lodge, is of opinion in reference to the later and undisputed organization of a Chapter in 1780, that "the Royal Arch Degree

¹ *Flamma fimo est proxima.* Plautus, "Curculio," i, 53.

² "Memorials of the Masonic Union," p. 7, 1913 edition, Leicester, England.

was kept distinct from the Craft at York, but that there was a very intimate connection between them."¹

What is here said of the later body may be applied to an earlier one. If so, it would be vain to look in the missing records of the York Grand Lodge from 1735 to 1760, if they are ever found, for any reference to Royal Arch Masonry.

Returning to the extract from Dr. Dassigny's *Enquiry* we infer in the second place, that in the year 1744 there were Royal Arch Freemasons in Dublin who appreciated the degree as a valuable addition to the Masonic system.

We infer, thirdly, that at that time there was an organized body of Past Masters there who regularly conferred the degree, restricting it, however, to those Freemasons who had passed the chair. As this was the regulation which existed in London, it suggests, if other proof were wanting, that the degree given in Ireland and in England was derived from like sources.

After this digression for the purpose of demonstrating the time of the first appearance of the degree at the cities of York and Dublin, we may return to our investigation of its start in England.

We have seen that in 1728, soon after the Chevalier Ramsay is credited with a system of high degrees, including one that under the title of *Ecossais* or "Scottish Master" developed the Royal Arch or the recovery of the *True Word*, he came to England.

There we may expect he met many Freemasons and communicated to them his views about the incompleteness of the established ritual, which, ending in the Master's part, and the loss of the *Word*, made no provision for its recovery.

To the greater part of the English Freemasons such a theory was either faulty as a doctrine or offensive as an innovation. Hence, the efforts said to have been made for its adoption by the Grand Lodge proved unsuccessful.²

¹ Hughan, "Memorials of the Masonic Union," 1874, p. 82.

² So we are told by Dr. Oliver who says in "Some Account of the Schism," pp. 23-26, that Ramsay visited London at that period to introduce his new degrees which were rejected by the Grand Lodge and that "It is extremely probable that Ramsay was concerned in the fabrication of the English degree." But Bro. Hughan asserts in his "Origin of the English Rite of Freemasonry," 1909, p. 81, "There is not a tittle of proof that Ramsay's 'inventions' were either entertained or rejected by the Grand Lodge of England, by its rival, the 'Atholl Masons,' or by any other Masonic body in Great Britain and Ireland." Ramsay was dead three years before Dermott received the Royal Arch Degree, and seven years before there was an "Atholl Grand Lodge."

Happily for the progress of Masonic light, there were some thinkers of more enlarged views. They saw the deficiency in the old ritual, and were ready to improve it. With this party, small at first but gradually increasing in numbers, the new ideas became popular.

But while they adopted the recovery of the true *Word* as the basis of a new degree to be added to the ritual of three degrees, they refused in the end to adopt the proposed legend. Probably the first English Freemasons who were engaged in 1738 in the "irregular makings" censured by the Grand Lodge may have used the new legend for a time.

This is mere guess-work. Still, it is possible that the system was taught to a few disciples who naturally would seek to impart their knowledge to others.

Dassigny, in his *Enquiry*, throws some gleams of light on this obscure subject in the following passage:

"I can not help informing the Brethren that there is lately arrived in this city a certain itinerant Mason whose judgment (as he declares) is so far illumined, and whose optics are so strong that they can bear the view of the most lurid rays of the sun at noon day, and altho' we have contented ourselves with three material steps to approach our *Summum Bonum*, the immortal God, yet he presumes to acquaint us that he can add three more, which, when properly placed, may advance us to the highest heavens."¹

Now, it is at least a coincidence that the Rite credited to Ramsay added just three degrees to the three of the original ritual. May not this "itinerant Mason" referred to by Dassigny have been a disciple seeking to bring his ritual into Dublin?

But this only gives probability to the theory that Ramsay had succeeded in imbuing the minds of certain English Freemasons with the principles of his system, so that they were prepared to formulate out of it a degree, which, though differing in name and differing in legend, retained its message.

Out of this system the unruly Freemasons of England formed a Fourth Degree, called the "Royal Arch," and though owing its origin to the *Ecossais*, resembled it only in the doctrine of a lost *Word*, recovered, which is the true and only doctrine of Royal Arch Masonry, under whatsoever name it may be known.

¹ Dassigny's "Enquiry," in Hughan's "Memorials of the Masonic Union," 1913, p. 127.

We may consider it as a well-settled fact in history that the Royal Arch degree was not known in England before the year 1738,¹ at which time it was practiced by certain Brethren who afterward assumed the name of "Antient Masons." The degree then conferred was suggested by and founded on the *Ecosaïs*.

"If the Royal Arch degree," says Brother Hughan,² "in its separate and distinct form, existed prior to 1738, and indeed, was as old as the Third Degree, how comes it that the regular Grand Lodge of England persistently refused to recognize it until 1813, but the body of Masons which seceded from this original and premier Grand Lodge, made much of the degree, and by it, we may truly say, succeeded in making their numerical position in a few years almost equal to the regular Grand Lodge itself?"

The degree as practiced by those Freemasons was, as Dr. Oliver³ remarks, "imperfect in its construction," and its rude and unfinished state betrayed its recent origin. Its form, however, gradually improved. When the Grand Lodge of "Antients" was organized in 1753, that body adopted it as one of its series of degrees, making it the Fourth in order of precedence.

At first, the degree was conferred in the Lodges and as a supplement to the Third Degree.

Dr. Oliver describes it as having at that early period "jumbled together, in a state of inextricable confusion, the events commemorated in Ramsay's Royal Arch, the Knights of the Ninth Arch, of the Burning Bush, of the East or Sword, of the Red Cross, the Scotch Fellow Craft, the Select Master, the Red Cross of Babylon, the Rose Croix," etc.⁴

Dr. Mackey says "I know not whence Oliver derived his authority for this statement. But as none of the degrees which he mentions were then fabricated, it is impossible that he can be correct." Bro. Oliver may not have meant more than that the degree contained the elements he found in the ceremonies named and which may indeed be indebted for material to that early source so often credited to Ramsay.

¹ Hughan, "History of Freemasonry in York," p. 38.

² "Voice of Masonry," vol. xiii, p. 887.

³ "Origin of the Royal Arch," p. 21.

⁴ See the above.

Probably the *Legend of Enoch* embodied in the *Ecossais*, and afterwards adopted in the degree of Knights of the Ninth Arch, was at first used in conferring the Fourth degree. But it was afterwards changed for the very different Legend still taught in the English Royal Arch.

After a short time, when the degree had been nursed into a better shape by the Grand Lodge of "Antients," it was conferred in a body called a "Chapter," but still part of a Warranted Lodge.

The regulations "for the Instruction and Government of the Holy Royal Arch Chapter," adopted by the "Atholl" Grand Lodge, declare that "every regular and warranted Lodge possesses the power of forming and holding meetings in each of these several degrees, the last of which from its preëminence is denominated among Masons a Chapter." This regulation was in force until the Union of 1813.¹

The earliest official minute of the Royal Arch degree among the "Antients" bears the date of 1752.² At that time the "Antients" were organized in a General Assembly, named a "Grand Committee."

The degree was then conferred in the Lodges but only on those who had passed the chair. This right of the Lodges to confer the Royal Arch was always recognized by the "Atholl" Grand Lodge.

But a Grand Chapter was subsequently established, at what precise date is not accurately known.

On April 6, 1791, the "Antients" published "Laws and Regulations for the Instruction and Government of the Holy Royal Arch Chapters, under the sanction of the Grand Lodge of England, according to the Old Constitutions." These Regulations were subsequently amended, and approved "in a General Grand Chapter" held at the "Crown and Anchor Tavern," in the Strand, on April 1, 1807, and are contained in the *Ahiman Rezon* of that year.

The first Regulation provides, "There shall be a General Grand Chapter of the Holy Royal Arch held half yearly at the 'Crown and Anchor,' Strand, on the first Wednesday in the months of April and October. That agreeably to established

¹ "Ahiman Rezon," 1807, p. 107.

² Hughan, "Memorials of the Masonic Union," 1874, p. 6.

custom the officers of the Grand Lodge, for the time being, are considered as the Grand Chiefs, and are to preside at all Grand Chapters, according to seniority; they usually appoint the most expert R. A. Companions to the other Offices; and none but Excellent Masons, being members of Warranted Lodges, in and near the Metropolis, shall be members thereof. Certified sojourners may be admitted as visitors only.”¹

The organization of this Grand Chapter of the “Antients,” though not recognized as legal, prepared the model for the later Grand Chapter of England. The government by three Chiefs has also been adopted in America, though they are no longer made identical, as they still are in England, with the three principal officers of the Grand Lodge.

Warrants were granted by the Grand Chapter for the formation of Chapters, but only where the persons composing such Chapter possessed a regular Warrant granted by the Grand Lodge.² Hence, every Chapter under the system of the “Antients” was, though independent as to the degree, attached to a Warranted Lodge. An application for initiation to the Royal Arch degree was to be directed “to the presiding Chiefs of the Chapter of Excellent Royal Arch Masons, under sanction of Lodge number ____.”³

This usage prevailed in America as long as Lodges of “Antient Masons” existed there. Dr. Mackey says, “I have in the early part of my life personally known several old Royal Arch Masons who received the degree in Lodges attached to Chapters.”

The Chapters, though thus closely connected with the Lodges, were so far under a separate jurisdiction as to be required to make returns of their Exaltations and payments of fees to the Grand Chapter.⁴

Another regulation required that none should receive the Royal Arch Degree but those who had “passed the chair.”⁵ The earliest custom was to confer it only on those who had been Masters of Lodges. But this practice having been found inconvenient,

¹ “Ahiman Rezon,” 1807, p. 108.

² “Laws and Regulations, General Grand Chapter,” No. iv.

³ See above “Laws,” No. vi.

⁴ “Laws and Regulations, General Grand Chapter,” No. xii.

⁵ See above “Laws,” No. viii.

as it too greatly restricted the number of candidates, the law was subsequently violated, and a fictitious degree of Past Master was instituted, brethren being permitted by a mere ceremony to "pass the chair" without having ever been elected Masters of Lodges. Thus the distinction of *actual* and *virtual* Past Masters came in vogue, the degree or rank of Past Master being thus virtually conferred as a prerequisite to Exaltation.

In 1813 the United Grand Lodge of England abolished this practice and it now admits Master Masons to be Exalted. But the custom prevails in the Chapters of the United States, though efforts have at times been made to abandon it.

The "Moderns" had seen with some envy, as we may suppose, the success which the "Antients" were securing, and they very properly credited it to the prestige of a Fourth Degree. A very judicious movement on their part was to avail themselves of a like benefit by the adoption also of an additional degree.

We find that some of the "Moderns" formed a Chapter for conferring the Royal Arch Degree on June 12, 1765.¹ It has been believed that Thomas Dunckerley was the founder of this Chapter, but Bro. Gould denies this, because the minutes show that he did not become a member of it until January 8, 1766.

But Dr. Mackey was unwilling to reject the freely accepted tradition that to him we owe the Royal Arch of the "Moderns"—a degree which is said to have differed in many points from that of the "Antients."

Dunckerley, reputed to be an illegitimate son of George II., whose claims received a sort of quiet recognition from the royal family, was a man of excellent character and of considerable talents. He was very popular with the Craft and was the author of a new system of lectures, or an improvement of the old, which had been sanctioned by the Grand Lodge.

Dunckerley appears to have been convinced of the policy of supplementing the deficiencies of the original Third Degree. We may indeed attribute to him a higher motive than that of policy, and believe that as a Masonic scholar he saw the necessity of completing the system by the addition of a Royal Arch Degree.

It does not follow that because Dunckerley's name does not appear as a member of the new Chapter until six months after its

¹ Gould, "Atholl Lodges," p. 38.

formation, he may not have had an important part in its organization. If he was the maker or amender of the Royal Arch of the "Moderns," from whom, except from him, could the original members of the new Chapter have received the degree which qualified them to enter upon its organization?

That he appeared later on the scene does not argue against his influence and his quiet work in its formation. There are no records extant to show what he was doing between the time when he perfected the degree and that when it was first put into practice by the foundation of a Chapter. The leading character in a drama does not always make his appearance in the first act, nor the hero of a novel in the first chapter.

It is more logical to suppose that the inventor of the Royal Arch of the "Moderns" was the founder of the Chapter in 1765. If Dunckerley was not the inventor, who was? To him Dr. Mackey was willing to ascribe the foundation of the Chapter, though his name does not appear on its records until six months after its formation.

We have given in the few preceding paragraphs the old argument so forcibly outlined by Dr. Mackey but its claims are sadly shattered by a letter from Dunckerley himself. He says plainly, "I was exalted at Portsmouth in the year 1754."¹ The facts seem to be that while Dunckerley was not the inventor of the Royal Arch Degree he had much to do with its progress and prestige. He doubtless improved but he could not have invented the degree.

The Chapter did not long continue a private body. In 1766, according to Bro. Hughan,² it assumed the rank of a Grand Chapter. This it must have done, just as the Lodge at York in 1725 resolved itself into a Grand Lodge. There were no other Chapters to unite with it, as the four Lodges did in 1717 to form a Grand Lodge. It simply changed its title and enlarged its functions.

Dr. Oliver places the date of the formation of the Grand Chapter at a later date, that of 1779.³ He gives no proof of the correctness of his statement, and on a point of Masonic history dependent on the authority of old documents and the correctness

¹ The letter is to be found in Sadler's "Thomas Dunckerley," London, 1891, p. 248.

² "Memorials of the Masonic Union," 1874, p. 8, note.

³ "Origin of the Royal Arch," p. 38.

of a deduction from them we prefer the accuracy and the judgment of Bro. Hughan to those of even the venerable Oliver.

Notwithstanding that the Grand Chapter counted some of the most distinguished "Modern" Freemasons among its members, it was never officially recognized by the Grand Lodge. In 1792 it was resolved that the Grand Lodge had nothing to do with the proceedings of the Society of Royal Arch Masons.¹

Still, it had marked success. In 1796 it had one hundred and four Chapters to which it had granted Warrants.

Unlike the Grand Chapter of the "Antients," it was independent, being wholly unconnected with the Grand Lodge. Its presiding officers were called the three Principals, and bore respectively as titles the initials of the names Zerubbabel, Haggai, and Joshua. Thus there were Principal Z., Principal H., and Principal J. This usage has been preserved in the present Grand Chapter of England. It had for its chief Principal Thomas Dunckerley as long as he lived, and for its first Patron, the Duke of Cumberland, who on his death was succeeded by the Duke of Clarence.

In 1813, on the union of the two Grand Lodges of the "Antients" and the "Moderna," the Royal Arch Degree was recognized as a part of Antient Craft Masonry, and the Supreme Grand Chapter was established as one of the powers of English Freemasonry.

Of the two rituals then in use that promoted by Dunckerley, and practiced by the "Moderna," was preferred,² but the Regulation of the "Antients," which closely united the Grand Lodge and the Grand Chapter and vested the presiding officers of both bodies in the same persons, was adopted. Hence, the Duke of Sussex, who had been elected the Grand Master of the Grand Lodge, became, by virtue of his office, the chief Principal of the Grand Chapter.

Bro. Murray Lyon says that the Royal Arch Degree was brought into Scotland about the middle of the 18th century

¹ Hughan presents this fact in his "Memorials," 1874, p. 8. The Grand Chapter, he says, was purely a defensive organization to meet the wants of the regular brethren and to prevent their joining the "Antients."

² Dunckerley's ritual was Christian in its character, and his principal symbol, the *Foundation Stone*, was made to allude to the Saviour. In 1894 this ritual was abolished by the Grand Chapter, and a new one, less sectarian in its interpretation of the symbols, was adopted, which still continues in England and in English Chapters.

by Military Lodges whose members had received it in Ireland.¹ The statement that the degree was first worked in Scotland by the "Antient Lodge of Stirling" in 1743 in connection with the Knight Templar and other high degrees, is said by Bro. Lyon to be without authentic evidence. But the *General Regulations for the Government of the Order of Royal Arch Masons of Scotland* assert that the Minute Book of the Chapter from 1743 is still extant.²

The history of "Stirling Antient" Lodge, 1741 to 1905, has been written by Bro. J. W. R. Johnston, M.E.P.Z., Stirling Rock R. A. Chapter, No. 2. He states on page 14 that the Minutes for the first time, on February 5, 1784, tell of three Brethren being "Advanced" and "Exalted." He adds "From the Minute of December 23, 1783, it appears that Bro. Alexander Craig had, by request, honoured a few of the brethren by making them Knights of Malta. It is also stated that Bro. Craig had about ten years previously advanced them to Excellent and Super-Excellent." But the Minutes of 1773 to 1775 are silent on the subject. Nor is there before 1784 any mention of other than the Entering, Passing and Raising to Master Masons. "Be that as it may," says Bro. Johnston, "Sterling Rock Royal Arch Chapter, No. 2, is recognized as the oldest in Scotland."

There is a transcript, showing that on December 2, 1778, the officers of St. Stephen's Lodge, Edinburgh, met with "sundry brethren" from the Antient Lodge of Perth and Scoon and "all with one voice accepted of the compliment of that degree of Masonry, viz., the 4th called Past the Chair." Two days later there is recorded "This night being set apart by the Brethren of Perth and Scoon Lodge in order to confer upon the Office-Bearers of St. Stephen's Lodge the following Degrees of Masonry, viz.: Excellent and Super-Excellent Masons, Arch and Royal Arch Masons, and lastly Knights of Malta," and then we have the names of the initiates, etc.³

But the earliest Minute of the Royal Arch Degree being worked anywhere is dated December 22, 1753, at Fredericksburg,

¹ "History of the Lodge of Edinburgh," p. 291.

² "General Regulations of the Grand Chapter of Scotland," Introduction, p. vii.

³ "History of the Edinburgh Royal Arch Chapter, No. 1," by Companion William A. Davis, Edinburgh, Scotland, 1911, pp. 4 and 5.

Va., U. S. A., a facsimile copy of the record being shown as the frontispiece to Bro. Hughan's *Origin of the English Rite of Freemasonry*, 1909 edition.

About 1800 several Templar Encampments were founded in Scotland by Charters granted by a body assuming that prerogative in Ireland. These Charters authorized the conferring of the Royal Arch Degree. There were other Chapters which at that time practiced the degree without a Charter.¹ The establishment of a Grand Encampment in 1811 by a Charter granted by the Duke of Kent, the head of Templarism in England, put a stop to the practice of Royal Arch Masonry in Encampments, and that branch of the institution was for some time in a very irregular position, though there were many working Chapters.

But on August 28, 1817, the Supreme Grand Royal Arch Chapter of Scotland was established by the representatives of thirty-four Chapters at a General Convocation of the Order held at Edinburgh.²

The Grand Lodge of Scotland, holding that Speculative Freemasonry consists of only three degrees, has refused to accept the Royal Arch as a part of the system. At first it prohibited its members from receiving the degree, but the antagonism now reaches only a quiet, official non-recognition.

¹ "General Regulations, Grand Chapter of Scotland."

² Lyon's "History of the Lodge of Edinburgh," p. 290.



